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The American Political Science Review

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WARTIME RATIONING AND GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION

PAUL M. O'LEARY*
Cornell University

Prior to Pearl Harbor, few Americans had given any serious and sustained thought to rationing as a form of wartime economic control. The United States was felt to be a land of chronic surplus in which rationing had no place. To be sure, certain industrial raw materials had become scarce under the impact of the defense program early in 1941, and had been subjected to priorities control by the Office of Production Management. But rationing of consumers' goods was not taken very seriously. Mr. Ickes' East Coast gasoline "shortage" of the late summer and early fall of 1941 had evaporated quickly. There were, of course, a few bright young men in the back rooms of Leon Henderson's O.P.A. who knew that strict wartime price control of consumers' goods would eventually necessitate rationing, price increases not being permitted to control distribution of relatively scarce goods. But even in the O.P.A. the immediate pressure of other duties, principally the control of prices of basic raw materials and the preparation of a price control act then being considered by Congress, prevented the creation of any real rationing organization. Pearl Harbor found the United States with no rationing plans, no rationing organization, and no real appreciation of the indispensability of rationing in a genuine all-out war effort.

Within sixteen months after Pearl Harbor, the United States had thirteen major rationing programs, operating through 5,600 ration-

* Formerly Deputy Administrator in Charge of Rationing, and now professor of economics and dean of the School of Business and Public Administration at Cornell University.

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ing boards. A nation-wide system of ration banking was working well. All the programs, with the exception of gasoline, were operating smoothly, and even in the case of gasoline a very deep cut in consumption had been made without seriously interfering with the routine of normal American life. These programs, in order of their installation, were: tires, automobiles, typewriters, sugar, bicycles, gasoline, protective rubber footwear, fuel oil, coffee, shoes, stoves, processed foods, and meats, fats, oils, and cheese. All of these programs except the last two were put into operation during 1942.

The creation and operation of the federal wartime rationing programs has been an amazing achievement in a country so little prepared for anything as radically new and different as rationing has been to the American people. Much of the credit must go to the people themselves, who, as consumers and as members of local rationing boards, took the programs and made them work, despite much vicious and unprincipled criticism in those sections of the press hostile to the Administration, and, unpleasant as it is to say it, despite only lukewarm and passive appreciation of the importance of rationing at the very top of the Administration. Rationing has been the stepchild of the war effort. Its progress towards maturity was never eased by the elaborate public relations campaigns which have done so much for the Treasury, the War Production Board, the Army, and the Navy, in carrying forward their operations. Rationing had to win its success the hard way, and it did so because of the fundamental soundness and native good sense of the American people and because, on the whole, the amateurs who organized it and administered it rose to the situation and discharged their responsibilities with vigor, imagination, and courage.

As Deputy Administrator in charge of Rationing during the period when rationing came into being, I want to discuss here certain major problems of governmental organization arising in connection with our wartime rationing programs.

The decision to delegate to the Office of Price Administration responsibility for the rationing of consumers' goods, made by the War Production Board in December, 1941, and formalized in its Directive No. 1, issued on January 24, 1942, was based upon both theoretical and practical grounds. Rigorous price control prevents price increases from exercising their normal function of controlling distribution and consumption. Controlled prices are set at levels where demand exceeds supply. Consequently, either chance will

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have to determine the pattern of distribution and consumption—chance and seller favoritism, that is—or some formal control will have to be imposed through a rationing system. Furthermore, rationing greatly assists price control by lessening the probability of direct violation of price regulations. A really tight rationing system which is difficult to violate turns a market back from a condition of "sellers' market" to that of "buyers' market." In effect, it partially sterilizes the purchasing power of ordinary money by invalidating it in the purchase of the rationed commodity unless accompanied by the special new ration currency. Theoretically, the relation of price control and rationing in a stabilization program is very close.

The practical reason for delegating the rationing authority to the price control agency—and it was quite possibly the real controlling reason—was simply that early in 1942 O.P.A. had the nucleus of a nation-wide field organization, and no other federal agency had one. O.P.A. had established a series of regional offices in the fall of 1941. Its administrative staff felt reasonably confident that the agency could rapidly expand its field organization to administer tire rationing at the county seat level. The Administrator of O.P.A. and his relatively youthful staff were an energetic, dynamic, "do things" group. When something needed to be done, they were quick to see it and not afraid to undertake it. When they saw a loose ball their instinct was to pick up the ball and run with it. They had taken the defense program seriously and they took the war even more seriously. They were aggressive "activists." When the need for tire rationing suddenly came down upon the country, this group was willing to undertake the task. The War Production Board promptly gave it to them.

The over-all blanket delegation of authority to O.P.A. to exercise the priorities power on sales of consumers' goods at the retail level (Directive No. 1, W.P.B., January 24, 1942) was O.P.A.'s original charter of rationing authority. But it very quickly became clear that the rationing authority must extend back of the retail level, at least to the point in the distributive channel where the market was narrowest. At such "choke point" or "bottleneck," controls could be made most effective; in fact, unless some such narrow "bottleneck" could be found, it was very debatable whether any really tight rationing program could be enforced.

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Where the number of distributive units was fewest would clearly be the best level at which to impose close auditing controls, and the strategic point at which to withdraw ration currency from the market as it flowed back upstream from retailer to his supplier, etc. Only by requiring that there be no flow of goods downstream toward the retailer unless he sent ration currency upstream to his supplier, could a rationing system be made anything but a loose "honor system." All O.P.A. rationing programs except the first, temporary East Coast gasoline program of May-June, 1942, were built upon the principle of a rigidly closed system in which goods could flow forward in the market only against coupons flowing back from the point of retail sale, the cutoff and auditing point being where the market was narrowest, that is, where sellers were fewest. Ordinarily, this would be at some processing or fabricating level. Thus, in the case of tires it was the tire manufacturer, in sugar it was the refinery, while in coffee it was the importer. The significant point is that it was always behind the retailer level. Consequently, O.P.A. had to insist that Directive No. 1 always be supplemented by additional delegations of power for each commodity rationed, these supplementary directives extending O.P.A.'s authority to exercise the priorities power as far back in the market as was necessary to enable it to "close the system."

As long as the O.P.A. had only to deal with the War Production Board, this problem of obtaining a satisfactory supplementary directive was not too troublesome. The personnel of the War Production Board quickly saw the point when the whole issue was presented to them in the case of tires and later in that of sugar. When the sugar program was launched, there was some difficulty in making certain members of the W.P.B. Food Branch see the necessity for centering all control of sugar distribution and consumption, including the consumption of large industrial users such as beverage manufacturers, in the hands of the rationing agency. But the case was made, and it was accepted by the top authorities in the War Production Board. From that time on, friction between O.P.A. and the Board was greatly reduced, being confined largely to disputes with the Office of Civilian Supply, which never seemed to be quite satisfied to tell O.P.A. when to ration an article and how much the supply would be, and then get out of the way, but insisted rather on asserting its own ideas as to methods and details

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of rationing programs, without, however, being willing to assume any operating responsibilities. All in all, however, O.P.A. and the Office of Civilian Supply were able to come to working arrangements which permitted the programs to go forward without too much friction, O.P.A. holding tenaciously to the position that the supply agency should: (1) determine the need for rationing, (2) request the O.P.A. to ration, (3) certify to available supplies for as long a period as possible, and (4) move to the sidelines.

Unfortunately, full responsibility for the provisioning of the war effort, including maintenance of the civilian economy at an efficient working level, was never fully centered in the war production agency, that is, the Office of Production Management and its successor, the War Production Board. On the contrary, as time passed, the whole tendency was to break up the authority of the War Production Board and parcel it out among several commodity "czars." By the end of 1942, successive executive orders had created an Office of Defense Transportation, a Petroleum Administration for War, an Office of the Rubber Director, and a War Food Administration—all, with the exception of the Rubber Director, completely outside the War Production Board; and even in his case, his executive order seemed to give him at least an arguably wide range of authority.

The language of executive orders delegating the President's powers to top-level agencies separate and distinct from each other seems incapable of being made sufficiently precise to exclude a degree of uncertainty and ambiguity which quickly leads energetic and ambitious men to stake out overlapping, and even duplicating, claims to authority. This is especially true when careful attention is not paid to solving the problem of apparent conflict between agencies based on function and those based on commodities. The solution of this apparent conflict is not, as some persons seem to suppose, to organize the war administration *either* on a functional *or* on a commodity basis. Both types of organization must be used. The answer to the apparent conflict is to be found rather in finding the proper administrative level at which to make the split. In the second World War, the split was made at much too high a level, and without consistency. This statement requires some explanation.

No one would seriously contend that our war effort should have been set up under a series of *commodity czars reporting directly to*

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the President, with each czar responsible for the discharge of every function pertaining to his commodity. Imagine the chaos of having the following commodity czars, each of whom would be responsible for seeing that the optimum supply of his commodity should be forthcoming at the lowest possible price, produced by workers whose wages he would hold in proper relation to those of all other workers, and with distribution of the commodity so controlled as to maximize its contribution to military output and provide for equitable sharing of the remainder among the civilian population: copper, lead, zinc, tin, aluminum, rubber, petroleum, lumber, paper, radio tubes and equipment, office equipment, food, coal, wool, and hides and leather.

Actually, the wartime administration has been organized to deal with the several functional operations pertaining to each of the commodities mentioned and to many others. The predominant, but unfortunately not the exclusive, practice has been to organize the war administration along functional lines, leaving the several functional agencies free to organize their own activities along commodity lines or not as they saw fit. Coördination of the functional activities affecting commodities could then be worked out at an operating level well below the President or his cabinet. But in the cases of food, petroleum, and rubber, exceptions were made. Worse than that, the executive orders setting up the commodity agencies gave them room to argue that they had received authority with respect to control not merely over production, but also over distribution, at least down to the retail level. Furthermore, the Rubber Director and the Petroleum Administrator constantly concerned themselves with the details and operating policies of rationing programs. Their public statements in regard to supplies and their frequently hostile comments about the administration of rationing by O.P.A. were a very great handicap to rationing and a blow to public respect for the whole war administration. As Deputy Administrator in Charge of Rationing, I urged repeatedly, but without success, that once the O.P.A. had been asked to undertake the rationing of a commodity, all other agencies should be ordered *by the President* to refrain from making any public statements about supplies of the rationed commodity and the operation of the rationing program. I still insist that such complete centering in the rationing agency of public information responsibility and

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authority is highly necessary to the smooth operation of rationing programs. I was, however, unable to make my case during my tenure of office. Instead, the O.W.I. was given responsibilities for "clearance" and "coördination" of statements emanating from different agencies concerned with the same general problem. Neither the Rubber Director nor the Petroleum Administrator ever paid much attention to the supposed requirement of O.W.I. clearance.

In the case of petroleum products, that is, fuel oil and gasoline, the constant efforts of the supply agency to intrude itself into the details of rationing programs was especially serious because of a deep and fundamental difference of viewpoint between the O.P.A. and the Petroleum Administration for War. The P.A.W. has always been the government arm of the domestic oil industry. I realize that this is a strong statement to make, but I am concerning myself with realities, not with the amenities of polite inter-agency relations.

The P.A.W. has been run by the domestic petroleum industry. Its personnel has been drawn therefrom. One tenet of its policy, expressed on several occasions by the Deputy Petroleum Administrator, has been to bring the petroleum industry through the war with its pre-war competitive relations as little disturbed as possible. Officials of the P.A.W. have consistently respected the utmost preservation of the competitive status quo as one of their principal criteria of policy. They would deny, and probably justifiably, that they have ever let this interfere with the maximization of over-all production of petroleum products going to the *war* itself. But they cannot successfully deny that they preferred to let the East Coast get along with somewhat less fuel oil and gasoline in the winter and spring of 1942–43 than the area could have enjoyed had P.A.W. been willing to disturb the pre-war marketing status quo by ordering Middle Western refineries to ship products into the East Coast area, thereby making possible equalization of rations between the East and the Middle West. Not until the late summer of 1943, and then only because of pressure generated by O.P.A. and O.D.T. through Justice Byrnes' office, did the P.A.W. act to compel such an "unnatural" movement of products. The completion of the "Little Inch" pipeline was *not* the reason for their action. As early as June, Mr. Eastman of O.D.T. had made it

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clear that additional tank cars were available, and had been for some time, to carry oil from the Middle West into the East Coast area.

To implement its overriding policy of preserving the status quo and bringing "its industry" through the war as little "disturbed" as possible, the Petroleum Administration felt compelled to control the distribution of petroleum right down to the retail level. This it sought to do by means of marketing quotas and the limitation order device, first as a substitute for coupon rationing and later as a "supplement" to such rationing. Actually, the limitation order device and coupon rationing are in fundamental and irreconcilable conflict. The limitation order is merely a device for dividing up sales of the reduced supply among members of the industry in accordance with some base period sales. The P.A.W. has generally used 1941 as its standard base period.

In its various limitation orders, P.A.W. set quotas based on percentages of sales made in the base period all the way from primary suppliers down through secondary suppliers and finally through the dealer level. Prior to the installation of coupon rationing, the effect was merely to turn over to dealers the authority and responsibility for rationing gasoline to consumers. The dealer's quota was typically less than customer demand. Consequently he doled out his quota in accordance with his best judgment. As long as the required reduction in consumption was not great, the consequences of this rationing by filling-station operators were not too serious. But as the magnitude of the necessary reduction increased, the deficiencies of rationing by dealers became apparent. The burden of responsibility coming down upon the dealer is simply not one that he can carry. With the best of good will, he lacks criteria by which to determine rations and devices by which to record their issuance. At the worst, the system results in the grossest sort of favoritism and downright corruption. Far from assisting in the control of prices, rationing by dealers turns the market completely into a seller's market, with the worst sort of price abuses resulting. Dealer rationing is bad rationing, and where a deep cut must be made in the consumption of an important commodity, its consequences are so bad as to make it intolerable. The determination of consumers' rations must be made by the government itself.

Although the Petroleum Administration quickly conceded that

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the determination of consumer rations was a government, not a dealer, function, it consistently refused to accept coupon flow as the determinant of product distribution. It insisted on limiting the sales of refiners, distributors, and dealers to quotas set by the P.A.W. itself, and it insisted on basing these quotas on percentages of *past sales*, not even attempting to approximate the pattern of distribution set by the issuance and use of ration coupons. In brief, the P.A.W. insisted that the coupons must go where the product was, instead of sending the product where the coupons were. The coupons thus became at all trade levels a necessary but not a sufficient condition for the acquisition of the rationed commodity. Gasoline (or fuel oil) could not move except against coupon flow, but beyond the limits of quotas it need not move against coupon flow. This protects and preserves the competitive status quo within the industry, but it does not distribute the product in accordance with rationed demand. This is not the place to discuss in detail the destructive consequences to the gasoline and fuel oil rationing programs of the way in which the P.A.W. insisted on substituting its own criteria of distribution for those implicit in a rationing program. It has been mentioned here because it presents a most striking example of the obstacles to sound and smooth-working consumer rationing resulting from unsound organization of the war effort at the very top.

Had the P.A.W. been instructed by the President or the Director of War Mobilization that its responsibilities with respect to the distribution of rationed petroleum products were limited to seeing that, within the limits imposed by the adequacy of transportation facilities, those products were made *physically* available in accordance with the pattern of distribution manifested in coupon flow, the rationing of petroleum products would have proceeded much more smoothly than has been the case. Assuming, as we must, that the P.A.W. would have obeyed orders, it could still have played a very useful and independent rôle in effecting the optimum distribution of scarce petroleum products. But that rôle would have been a *physical*, not an *economic*, one. That is, the P.A.W. would have accepted the certification of the O.P.A. rationing system as to what was the *economic* optimum of distribution. It would merely have assumed the responsibility of making the *physical* facts of distribution accord with the requisite economic pattern.

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Over a great many months, the Bureau of the Budget attempted to work out an agreement between O.P.A. and P.A.W. as to the division of responsibility and authority between them. In the case of food, such an agreement was reached between O.P.A. and the War Food Administration. But no agreement was ever reached, or even approached, on petroleum products. The simple fact of the matter is that the points of view of O.P.A. and P.A.W. were deeply and fundamentally irreconcilable. O.P.A. was attempting to assure the consuming public of an equitable distribution of petroleum products, while P.A.W. was attempting to preserve the competitive status quo in the petroleum industry. The staffs of the two agencies simply talked different languages. The O.P.A. people were aggressively "public welfare" minded, the P.A.W. people were equally aggressively "industry welfare" minded. Actually, the O.P.A. staff was a better balanced group, including as it did some persons from the industry but not a predominance thereof, whereas the P.A.W. always has been a one-hundred-per-cent "petroleum industry crowd." In the absence of sharp, clear orders from the very top, that is, from the President or his Director of War Mobilization, conflict and confusion were bound to prevail. The result was that the petroleum programs were a constant government problem. Gasoline rationing in particular never worked as smoothly as it should have. Fuel oil eventually worked reasonably smoothly after a difficult first year, but this was largely because supplies were considerably better in the second heating season than in the first.

In the event of another war, with a consequent need for rationing petroleum products, there will be no excuse for repeating the unsound top level organization that has plagued us in this one. The supply responsibility for petroleum products should clearly be placed under the war supply agency, not split off and handed over to a separate agency (especially one whose head has cabinet status), with that agency permitted to become an instrument of the industry instead of an arm of the government. Petroleum products are extremely important in wartime. But that is exactly why they belong under the control of the over-all operating war production agency which, in delegating the function of consumer rationing to the price control agency, would pursue a policy consistent with its other delegations of the rationing authority.

The establishment of the War Food Administration by executive

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order in the late fall of 1942 threatened to precipitate another situation somewhat like that which prevailed in petroleum products. The Food Administrator and his staff first seemed to feel that they should not merely determine that a shortage existed requiring rationing of a particular food, but that they should actually prepare rationing regulations, formulate the details of the rationing plan, deal with the food trades on all trade problems, and then bundle the whole program into a "cellophane package" and hand it over to O.P.A. to administer through its field organization. Feeling strongly that this was thoroughly unsound and unworkable, the O.P.A. rationing department held tenaciously to the position that the Food Administration should determine the need for rationing, certify that determination to O.P.A., inform the latter agency of the supplies available for distribution through the rationing program, and then step aside and let O.P.A. ration. Thus, O.P.A. would determine methods of rationing, size of rations within the limits of available supplies, and whether to use uniform or differential rations for various occupational groups, subject to O.P.A. agreeing to consult with and receive the advice of the Food Administration's nutrition experts. If "point rationing" were used, O.P.A. insisted it must determine point values after receiving from the War Food Administration certifications as to supplies available.

Fortunately, this disagreement between the two agencies was resolved by the Bureau of the Budget, which brought the two together around the conference table and hammered out a working agreement between them delineating and defining their respective authorities. This document approximated pretty closely the views of O.P.A., and, at least during the tenure of the present writer as Deputy Administrator in Charge of Rationing, it seemed to work to the satisfaction of all concerned. In any case, the food programs went forward smoothly from then until the summer of 1944, when friction again developed.

With regard to rubber, little need be said. The somewhat anomalous position of the Rubber Director within, and yet largely independent of, the War Production Board gave rise to certain difficulties. The first Rubber Director insisted on concerning himself with the details of the tire and gasoline rationing programs. Finally he had to be told by the O.P.A., the O.D.T., the War Food Administration, and the P.A.W. that a program of special treat-

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ment for farmers under gasoline rationing which he proposed was out of order. This rebuff, and the growing realization that, while his office was solving the problem of synthetic rubber production it was not solving the problem of tire production, led him to intrude himself less and less into the rationing program. In fact, upon the occasions of their respective resignations both the first and second Rubber Directors claimed great credit for having "solved" the "rubber problem," but disavowed any responsibility for the solution of the tire and automotive transportation problems. In this whole episode there is much that is illuminating as to personalities, but little that is relevant to considerations of wartime government organization.

One of the most unfortunate consequences to rationing of the activities of the commodity czars arose in the area of public information. Public acceptance of the need for rationing and public coöperation in making the programs work is indispensable to the success of rationing. Americans are not a docile people, and they are strongly inclined to be skeptical about what they are told by "the government." They have found it hard to believe that genuine shortages exist. To gain their acceptance for rationing programs, it has been necessary to educate them, to explain to them carefully what the whole new and strange business of rationing is really "about." Well conducted campaigns of public information can be of immense help to the rationing authorities. I stated earlier that the rationing agency should be given full and exclusive authority for conducting such campaigns. Let me develop the matter a bit further, at the risk of being repetitious. The rationing agency alone knows what it is doing and how it is doing it. Without the authority to conduct the campaign of popular education, the rationing agency does not have authority coëxtensive with its great and grave responsibility.

The public information powers of the rationing agency must be plenary and exclusive. Once an article goes on the ration list, no statement in regard to supplies and future prospects of that commodity should emanate from any agency except the rationing agency. Funds should be supplied the rationing agency adequate to carry out real campaigns of public education, making use of all available media—press, radio, movies, speeches, etc. If the best available supplies of talented personnel are in a special government information agency such as O.W.I., the rationing agency

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should be authorized to work out arrangements for using such personnel. *But the rationing administrator must be given full authority to supervise the program of education just as completely as he supervises every aspect of the rationing program itself.* Functionally, the information agency must become a service agency and must behave as such. If it is not willing to do so, the rationing administrator must have authority to buy services elsewhere. Rationing information must be the handmaiden of rationing, not its coördinate.

It is in this whole area that government organization for rationing has been weakest in World War II. Instead of having full and exclusive authority over public information about rationed commodities, the rationing agency was forced to engage in a catch-as-catch-can struggle with the commodity "czars." Depending on their moods and purposes, the "czars" blew hot and cold. Sometimes they were optimistic about supplies, sometimes they were pessimistic. Usually they were critical of the rationing agency and its methods of rationing. Over the whole scene hovered the Office of War Information, frantically wringing its hands, and trying earnestly but largely ineffectually to bring order and consistency by imposing a set of "clearance" requirements. The professors in the O.P.A. respected such requirements pretty consistently, but the business men and cabinet members at the commodity czar level ignored them when they chose. In so far as I knew the war effort, and was a part of it, this was by all means the area most discreditable to the government. Things should never be allowed to happen that way again!

Impartial analysis of the preceding discussion may well lead one to ask if a smoother general rationing organization might not have been possible by dividing the rationing authority among the several supply agencies. Thus, the rationing of food might have been made the complete responsibility of the War Food Administration, petroleum products that of the Petroleum Administration, tires and automobiles of the Office of Defense Transportation, and O.P.A. might have been left to handle the miscellaneous residue—typewriters, stoves, rubber footwear, shoes, and bicycles.

From time to time, this possibility was discussed by those of us in O.P.A. who were responsible for administering the rationing programs. Actually, in the case of farm implements we quite willingly delegated the rationing authority to the Department

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of Agriculture. In this case it was apparent that the Department, through its county war boards, was reasonably well equipped to administer the program. Furthermore, farm implements are so completely producers' goods, the use of which so directly affects food production, as to make it highly desirable to give authority over their distribution to the agency responsible for food production.

In the case of all other rationed commodities, the discussion of one rationing agency vs. several was always on an academic level, for the simple reason that none of the other agencies was ever in a position to assume the responsibility for actually carrying out rationing programs. They simply did not have the field organizations necessary to issue rations at the local level. Nor did they ever seem disposed to attempt to create such organizations. Instead, they preferred to have O.P.A. "carry out the mechanics" of rationing—though they wanted the right to determine the rules, and even to issue the regulations. This O.P.A. rejected vigorously, on what I regard as indisputably sound grounds—the agency responsible for administering must make the policies which it administers. Policy and administration go hand in hand. Policies are made and remade in the process of administration. There is no such sharp dichotomy as some persons seem to imagine. An organizational division of authority which assumes that there is such a dichotomy results in bad administration.

But personally I have never contended, as did some of my more zealous fellow-rationers in O.P.A., that rationing simply cannot be well conducted by more than one federal agency at the local level. Great Britain and Canada use the plural system. People *can* be taught to go to two or three different places to obtain their rations. It is more convenient to have only one local rationing board, and so far as overhead costs to the government are concerned, it is probably cheaper. But the plural system does work elsewhere, and I know of no inherent reason why it could not work in the United States.

In the case of petroleum products, I should say that if the supply agency is to retain authority over distribution down to the retail level, as the P.A.W. has insisted it must during the present war, then the supply agency should be given full responsibility and authority for issuing rations and running the program at the local level. If it is incapable of organizing itself to do so, it should op-

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erate only as a supply agency and leave control of distribution to the rationing agency.

In the case of foods, the very close relation between rationing and effective food-price control makes it indispensable to keep rationing and price control under one roof. The prices of petroleum products *can be* adequately controlled without a closely correlated control of buyers' demand through rationing, though rationing does assist price control at the filling-station level. The prices of petroleum products in the United States right down to the retail level have been for many years closely "administered" by the big oil companies. Prices to consumers are "built up" by the addition of fairly uniform and standard mark-ups to distributors' prices. These, in turn, have been "built up" the same way from the base of their suppliers' price. The experience of O.P.A. has shown that "administered prices" are generally much easier to control than prices set in highly competitive, "atomistic" markets such as largely prevail in the basic foodstuffs. Rationing bolsters price control in petroleum products, but in foods rationing is so closely related to price control all through the highly competitive and very sensitive distributive channels that it is doubtful whether price control can work without the control of consumer demand that only rationing can provide.

In foods, price control amounts to a refusal to permit prices to perform the function of directing distribution and controlling consumption. Instead, ration currency prices perform that function. But in gasoline and fuel oil the central responsibility of rationing has been to effectuate sharp reductions in consumption by imposing differing degrees of reduction on different consumers—differential rationing—in such a way as to maintain (1) necessary transportation and (2) relatively even human physical comfort through shelter temperature.

The "de-rationing" of most meats in May, 1944, had bad consequences both for meat distribution and for meat prices. Distribution of meat supplies throughout the country again became very uneven. The meat trade itself, according to the *Journal of Commerce,* concedes that perhaps as much as forty per cent of civilian meat supply in the summer of 1944 was being sold in "black markets" at "black market prices."

The relations between O.P.A.'s rationing department and the Office of Defense Transportation require some comment. The

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O.D.T. is a functional agency responsible for the maintenance of the national wartime transportation system. This is a very heavy and very important responsibility. In discharging it, the O.D.T. was compelled, among other things, to cope with the consequences of tire and gasoline shortages. Tires and gasoline are "producers' goods" to a highly developed motor transport system. Consequently, the pattern of their distribution and the quantities distributed are of the most vital concern to the O.D.T. A case *can* be made out for turning their rationing over to the transportation agency. In the case of trucks, O.P.A. quite willingly left W.P.B. and O.D.T. with full authority to ration, though O.P.A. handled the rationing of passenger automobiles. But in gasoline and tires, O.P.A. was compelled to insist that such a sharp separation as between types of tire and gasoline uses was not feasible. Furthermore, the O.D.T. never could say that it was equipped to handle the over-all rationing of tires and gasoline at the local level. It simply did not have the field organization. Consequently, even had it been thought desirable to turn rationing of all gasoline and tires over to O.D.T., including small car passenger tires and gasoline for family "pleasure" cars, it could not have been done.

Actually, O.P.A. and O.D.T. worked closely and in the most friendly spirit to coördinate the discharge of their intertwining responsibilities. Personal relations between the two staffs were always of the best, born I suspect of mutual respect each for the other's "public service" point of view. But there is no question that the O.D.T.'s system of "certificates of war necessity" for commercial vehicles worked badly in so far as its impact upon gasoline rationing was concerned. For many months, the solvency of O.P.A.'s gasoline rationing system was constantly threatened by an over-issuance of ration currency, issued against O.D.T. certificates of war necessity in accordance with O.P.A.'s agreement with O.D.T. to accept such certifications at their face value. The over-issuance of "S" (later "T") rations was the first great source of "black market" gasoline. It took months of unremitting pressure by O.P.A. upon O.D.T. to get the "water" squeezed out of these certificates of war necessity.

I do not see any very clear conclusion as to how this situation could be improved "next time." I doubt whether a different administrative structure would have helped. Certainly entrusting the rationing of gasoline to a petroleum "commodity" agency

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would not solve the problem. On the contrary, it might well make it worse. I shall conclude merely by saying that the remedy probably lies in a "tighter" attitude next time on the part of the transportation agency when it issues its certificates of war necessity to commercial vehicles. Certainly it would never do to have two separate agencies issuing separate ration currencies for the same commodity. That way madness lies!

Upon the basis of my experience with rationing in World War II, I conclude by asserting:

1. Rationing, and I believe the whole war effort, would have gone better had government organization been consistently along functional lines at the top level. The heads of the several functional agencies could then have made up a real "economic general staff." Ideally, the head of the War Production Board should be the chief of such a staff.

2. Assignment of responsibilities pertaining to particular *commodities* should have been made "down the line" *within* the several *functional* agencies. Functional conflicts in regard to a particular commodity could then have been resolved at a level well below the President of the United States.

3. Food and petroleum are not distinguishable as exceptions upon any except political grounds.

4. There is generally a *prima facie* case for placing price control and rationing under the same agency. This case is much stronger in food than in petroleum products.

5. If for any reason it is necessary or expedient to create a separate commodity agency for a commodity which has to be rationed, it is better to turn the whole rationing responsibility and authority over to that agency than to split rationing authority vertically between the commodity agency and a separate rationing agency. That is, whatever agency is responsible for rationing should have full authority to control distribution throughout the whole marketing structure. If the commodity agency is given control part way down through the channel of distribution, it should be expected to assume full responsibility for effectuating equitable distribution (i.e., for rationing) all the way through to the consumer.

6. While there are unquestioned advantages in having just one rationing agency for citizens to deal with, several agencies *can* operate satisfactorily. A multiple system of rationing agencies

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adequately endowed with rationing authority is better than one agency whose authority is not coëxtensive with its responsibility.

7. The agency responsible for rationing a commodity to the American people should have complete and exclusive authority for educating them as to the need for rationing, and for keeping them continuously informed about changes in the supply situation which have, or are likely to have, an impact on the size of rations. Reasons of "military security" may require that certain types of information be withheld from the public, thus necessitating "clearance" with the official government information agency. Beyond that, the rationing agency should be free to conduct its operations in the field of public information in accordance with its own best judgment. A coöperative public is tremendously helpful to the success of any rationing program. Americans are not a docile people. But they are reasonably coöperative when they see reasonable grounds for being asked to make sacrifices.

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RURAL LOCAL GOVERNMENT

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP GOVERNMENT IN 1944*

CLYDE F. SNIDER
University of Illinois

Developments in rural local government during 1944 included little that was wholly novel. Few state legislatures were in regular session, and those which met gave rather less attention than usual to local governmental problems. Nevertheless, several significant statutes and constitutional amendments became effective, and the convention which framed a new constitution for Missouri took numerous steps toward the modernization of local government in that state. In addition, particular local units in various states took action under preëxisting legal authority to improve their governmental forms or practices. As is usually the case, some proposals in the direction of betterment were defeated.

I. AREAS

A type of governmental area which is becoming increasingly popular is that for providing rural fire protection.[1] Kentucky, in 1944, authorized the establishment of fire protection districts upon petition by fifty-one per cent of the registered voters of the territory proposed to be included. Like some other laws of its kind, the Kentucky statute provides that the governing boards of such districts may either operate fire departments or contract for receiving fire protection from municipalities or other fire protection districts.[2]

The number of soil conservation districts continued to grow rapidly. As of December 15, 1944, 1,203 such districts, including approximately 3,107,451 farms, had been established in the 45 states having soil conservation district laws. Only the three New England states of Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire were without legislation authorizing the organization of districts of this nature.[3]

Under the provisions of Missouri's new constitution, two or more counties may be consolidated by majority vote of the electors voting on the question in each county affected. A county may be dissolved by

* For previous annual summaries, see this REVIEW, Vol. 31, pp. 884–913; Vol. 32, pp. 936–956; Vol. 33, pp. 1058–1072; Vol. 34, pp. 1145–1166; Vol. 35, pp. 1106–1119; Vol. 36, pp. 1109–1127; Vol. 37, pp. 1041–1051; Vol. 38, pp. 1089–1113.

[1] Seventy-six such districts were organized in Illinois between 1936 and 1944, bringing the total number of districts in the state, as of the beginning of the latter year, to 91.

[2] *Acts of Kentucky*, 1944 (reg. sess.), ch. 133.

[3] Data supplied by Soil Conservation Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

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two-thirds vote of the electors of the county voting thereon, and when so dissolved all or any portions thereof may be annexed to the adjoining county or counties as provided by law. The government of any municipality in a county not operating under a home rule charter may, as provided by law, be consolidated or separated, wholly or in part, with or from that of the county or other political subdivision in which the municipality is situated. A new set of provisions dealing with relationships between St. Louis county and the city of St. Louis is designed to facilitate solution of the complicated problems of that metropolitan area.[4]

II. ORGANIZATION AND PERSONNEL

Creation and Abolition of Offices. Provision continued to be made in various instances for county officers to aid veterans of the armed forces and their dependents in obtaining compensation, hospitalization, and other benefits to which they are entitled under federal and state laws. The North Dakota legislature provided that the board of commissioners of any county may appoint a veterans' service officer on either a part-time or a full-time basis. It is the duty of such officer to acquaint himself with the provisions of legislation enacted for the benefit of returning servicemen and servicewomen; to assist such persons in presenting and establishing their claims thereunder; and to coöperate with federal and state agencies in facilitating the reëstablishment of veterans in civilian pursuits. County service officers were established by special legislative acts in the South Carolina counties of Colleton and Horry. The officer is to be selected in Colleton county by the county post of the American Legion, and in Horry is to be appointed by the governor on recommendation of the Legion posts of the county. Oneida county, Wisconsin, was reported to have organized a county "council of service" to coördinate the employment, rehabilitation, and hospitalization of returning veterans.[5]

Missouri's new constitution abolished the justice-of-the peace system and created in its stead a magistrate court in each county. In counties of

[4] *Constitution of Missouri* (1945), Art. VI, secs. 3, 5, 17, 30. This constitution was framed by a convention which assembled in September, 1943, and ended its sessions on September 29, 1944. Its provisions relating to county government are considered in this article notwithstanding that the constitution was not ratified by the voters of the state until February 27, 1945. Brief discussions of the provisions of the new constitution, including those concerning local government, will be found in William L. Bradshaw, "Missouri's Revised Constitution," *School and Community*, Vol. 30, pp. 220–226 (Sept., 1944); William L. Bradshaw, "Missouri's Proposed New Constitution," in this REVIEW, Vol. 39, pp. 61–65 (Feb., 1945); Tess Loeb, "New Constitution for Missouri," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 34, pp. 165–167, 178 (Apr., 1945).

[5] *Laws of North Dakota*, 1944 (spec. sess.), ch. 30; *Acts and Joint Resolutions of South Carolina*, 1944 (reg. sess.), pp. 1212, 1316; Paul W. Wager, "County Government," *Municipal Year Book*, 1945, pp. 244–248.

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30,000 inhabitants or less, the probate judge is to be judge of the magistrate court, while separate magistrates are to be elected in larger counties. Counties with populations between 30,000 and 70,000 are to have one magistrate; counties of 70,000 to 100,000, two; and larger counties two, and one additional for each additional 100,000 inhabitants or major fraction thereof. "According to the needs of justice," the foregoing number of magistrates in any county may be increased by not more than two by order of the circuit court on petition and after notice and hearing. Counties having more than one magistrate are to be divided into districts, and one magistrate is to be elected from each district. However, each magistrate is to have jurisdiction coëxtensive with the county. Until otherwise provided by law, magistrate courts are to have the same jurisdiction as previously possessed by justices of the peace. In counties of less than 70,000 inhabitants, magistrate courts will also have juvenile jurisdiction concurrent with the circuit court, and the powers of the circuit judge in chambers when the circuit judge is absent from the county. The salaries of magistrates are to be paid from the source or sources prescribed by law; and it is made the duty of the general assembly to provide for the administration of magistrate courts in conformity with the constitutional provision.[6]

The governing body of Henrico county, Virginia, was authorized to establish and maintain a county police department. The chief of police and police officers are to be appointed by the circuit judge on recommendation of the county governing body. Police clerks and police dispatchers are to be employed by the county governing body on recommendation of the chief of police. The department is charged with enforcing within the county all criminal laws of the state and all local ordinances. New Jersey empowered the boards of chosen freeholders of second-class counties to create the office of county chief medical examiner, an office which was previously authorized only in counties of the first class. The duties of the medical examiner and his assistants are to be those usually performed by coroners.[7]

York county, South Carolina, was provided with a terracing commission empowered to purchase terracing equipment and to contract with landowners of the county for the terracing of farm lands. An aëronautics commission was established for Williamsburg county in the same state.[8]

Missouri, in revising her constitution, eliminated provisions for the election of a sheriff and a coroner, thereby leaving the establishment and

[6] *Constitution of Missouri*, 1945, Art. V, secs. 18–21.

[7] *New Jersey Revised Statutes*, 1944 Cumulative Supplement, secs. 40: 21–30.1 to 40: 21–30.19; *Acts of Virginia*, 1944, ch. 21.

[8] *Acts and Joint Resolutions of South Carolina*, 1944 (reg. sess.), p. 1414; *ibid.* (spec. sess.), p. 2310.

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regulation of those offices to legislative discretion.[9] The voters of Florida defeated a proposed constitutional amendment which would have consolidated certain county offices in the counties of Dade and Orange.[10]

Nomination, Term, Reëligibility, and Compensation. In Alabama, the voters rejected a proposed constitutional amendment requiring major political parties to make nominations for county offices by primary election.[11] The voters of four states were called upon to pass on proposed constitutional amendments to lengthen the terms of certain local officers. A Florida proposal to increase the terms of county commissioners from two to four years was approved,[12] as was also a South Carolina amendment making a like increase in the terms of magistrates in Aiken and Hampton counties.[13] On the other hand, proposals to lengthen the terms of county attorneys and justices of the peace in Montana, and of sheriffs in Alabama, were defeated.[14] In Illinois, a proposed amendment which would have permitted sheriffs and county treasurers to succeed themselves met with defeat, while Wyoming voters ratified an amendment which removes constitutional limitations on county salaries and leaves their amounts to legislative determination.[15] Missouri's new constitution abolished the fee system of compensation for law-enforcement officers in all counties, and for all county officers except public administrators in counties having 100,000 or more inhabitants.[16]

County and Town Executives. Warwick county, Virginia, adopted the manager plan of government under optional legislation. Guilford county, North Carolina, though inaugurating a manager system late in 1942, was first added to the International City Managers' Association's official list of manager counties in 1944. The position of the manager in Durham county, North Carolina, was strengthened by action of the county board placing in his hands the power of appointing to twenty-six subordinate positions. Hitherto the Durham county manager, though himself appointed by the county board, has not had the power to appoint his subordinates. Petroleum county, Montana, which in 1942 became the

[9] Cf. William L. Bradshaw, "Missouri's Revised Constitution," *loc. cit.*

[10] Information supplied by R. A. Gray, secretary of state of Florida.

[11] Letter to the writer from Sibyl Pool, secretary of state of Alabama, Montgomery, Dec. 12, 1944.

[12] Information supplied by R. A. Gray, secretary of state of Florida.

[13] *Acts and Joint Resolutions of South Carolina*, 1944 (reg. sess.), p. 1571; *State Proposals Voted Upon in 1944* (Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce, Washington, April, 1945), p. 27.

[14] Letters to the writer from Sam W. Mitchell, secretary of state of Montana, Helena, Dec. 1, 1944; Sibyl Pool, secretary of state of Alabama, Montgomery, Dec. 12, 1944.

[15] Letter to the writer from A. E. Johnson, deputy secretary of state of Wyoming, Cheyenne, Dec. 1, 1944. Cf. this REVIEW, Vol. 38, p. 1094.

[16] *Constitution of Missouri*, 1945, Art. VI, secs. 12, 13.

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first small rural county to adopt manager government, was reported, after eighteen months' experience, to be achieving efficiency and economy under the plan.[17] A constitutional amendment empowering the Oregon legislature to enact an optional county manager law was ratified by the state electorate.[18] The board of supervisors of Fairfax county, Virginia, was authorized to appoint an executive secretary vested with numerous powers of a managerial nature.[19]

A proposed home-rule manager charter for Montgomery county, Maryland, met defeat at the polls, largely because of bitter opposition by the county Democratic machine. However, the vote was relatively close, and it is reported that the county charter committee, a continuing organization of citizens which led the fight for the charter, is determined to try again.[20]

Several Maine towns and plantations adopted manager charters during the year; and the Vermont towns of Bennington, Manchester, and Northfield, which were operating under manager government, voted in town meeting to retain the plan.[21]

Personnel Administration. The merit system was adopted during the year by three counties: Contra Costa and Ventura in California, and Hunterdon in New Jersey. In Kentucky, Kenton county was empowered to provide a merit system for county employees; and all counties containing second class cities were authorized to place county patrolmen on a merit basis. It was estimated that there were currently 241 American counties in which all or a part of the employees were under the merit system.[22]

Fourteen units of local government in the Jefferson county-Louisville area in Kentucky developed a coöperative classification and pay plan; and in Detroit a joint city-county committee was established to develop

[17] Paul W. Wager, "County Government," *Municipal Year Book*, 1945, pp. 244–248; *City Managers' News Letter* (International City Managers' Association, Chicago), June 1, 1944; R. R. Renne, "Rural County Can Be Efficient," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 33, pp. 448–451 (Oct., 1944); E. W. W., "Warwick County Adopts Manager Plan," note in *ibid.*, p. 561 (Nov., 1944).

[18] Letter to the writer from Robert S. Farrell Jr., secretary of state of Oregon, Salem, Dec. 4, 1944.

[19] *Acts of Virginia*, 1944, ch. 204. The voters of Fairfax county had declined, in 1940, to approve either a special legislative charter providing for an executive secretary or the "county executive" plan of government provided by general optional statutes. See this REVIEW, Vol. 35, pp. 1108, 1114.

[20] John F. Willmott, "Machine Beats County Charter," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 33, pp. 583–587 (Dec., 1944); Elwyn A. Mauck, note in *ibid.*, p. 634.

[21] *City Managers' News Letter* (International City Managers' Association, Chicago), Mar. 15, 1944, Jan. 15, 1945.

[22] J. J. Donovan, "Personnel Developments in 1944," *Municipal Year Book*, 1945, pp. 139–143; *Acts of Kentucky*, 1944 (reg. sess.), chs. 131, 132.

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a standardized salary schedule for employees of the city, the county, the school board, and the publicly-owned street railway system.[23] Wayne county, Michigan, adopted a retirement plan for county employees; and San Bernardino county, California, voted to place its employees under the state's optional state-wide retirement system.[24] The Kentucky legislation mentioned in the preceding paragraph, which empowered certain counties to provide merit systems for county employees generally or for county patrolmen, also authorized the establishment of pension plans. Parish school boards in Louisiana were empowered to provide group life insurance for their employees, and to pay part or all of the premiums thereon from public funds. Kentucky extended to all counties authority, previously conferred only upon counties containing second class cities, to purchase liability insurance covering county-operated vehicles, and compensation insurance to protect county employees injured in the course of their employment.[25]

In-service training for local officers and employees continued to be one of the most encouraging developments in personnel administration. Especially noteworthy are the contributions being made in this field by the institutes maintained or sponsored by certain state colleges and universities. During November and December, 1944, the University of North Carolina's Institute of Government conducted short courses for county tax supervisors, court clerks, registers of deeds, sheriffs, county tax collectors, county attorneys, and various city officers. Later in December, courses for local list-takers and assessors were conducted in the various county courthouses of the state by the county tax supervisors, guidebooks for these local courses having been prepared by the Institute.[26] The Michigan Institute of Local Government held a conference for newly-elected county officers at Michigan State College under the sponsorship of the college's short courses office and department of

[23] John B. Blandford, Jr., "Administrative Organization," *Municipal Year Book*, 1945, pp. 239–243; Donovan, *loc. cit.*

[24] Carl N. Everstine, *Pensions for County and Municipal Employees* (Research Report No. 24, Research Division, Maryland Legislative Council, Baltimore, 1944), p. 14; Elwyn A. Mauck, note in *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 34, p. 45 (Jan., 1945).

[25] *Acts of Kentucky*, 1944 (reg. sess.), chs. 49, 81; *Acts of Louisiana*, 1944, no. 184.

[26] H. M. Olmsted, note in *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 33, p. 622 (Dec., 1944). For the history of the establishment and work of the North Carolina Institute, as related by its founder, see Albert Coates, *The Story of the Institute of Government* (National University Extension Association, Studies in University Extension Education No. 2, Bloomington, Indiana, July 1, 1944). The history and activities of another institute which has been active in in-service training—that of Pennsylvania State College—are summarized in *The Institute of Local Government: Ten Year Progress Report, 1935–1945* (Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pennsylvania).

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public administration. Participating in the conference were county clerks, drain commissioners, prosecuting attorneys, registers of deeds, sheriffs, and treasurers. There were general sessions at which various lecturers discussed some of the broader aspects of state and local relationships; and at sectional meetings the different groups of new officials were instructed in the problems of their respective offices. A new program of in-service training in governmental planning was inaugurated by the Institute of Local and State Government of the University of Pennsylvania with an enrollment which included officers and employees of various governmental units. The institute was also conducting an in-service training program for other borough, township, city, county, and state officials in the Philadelphia metropolitan area.[27]

The National Association of County Officials held its second annual war conference at Syracuse, New York, in July. More than three hundred county officials from thirty states were in attendance. Conference discussions centered about postwar planning and financial problems.[28]

III. FUNCTIONS

New Functions. Several of the new functions conferred upon counties during the year related to veterans' problems. In some instances, veteran service officers or agencies were established to assist veterans and their dependents in obtaining the various benefits to which they are entitled under federal and state law and to aid them in securing employment.[29] Mississippi made it the duty of county welfare departments to coöperate with the state service commissioner in assisting veterans and their dependents in obtaining federal benefits. The same state authorized counties to provide housing for units of congressionally-chartered veterans' organizations and their auxiliaries.[30]

An amendment to the South Carolina constitution will enable the general assembly to empower counties and townships to levy taxes and issue bonds for the construction and maintenance of airports and landing strips.[31] Mississippi counties were authorized, either individually or jointly with one or more other counties and/or municipalities, to construct and operate community hospitals. The parishes of Louisiana were empowered to establish and maintain war memorial civic centers.[32]

[27] See this REVIEW, Vol. 39, pp. 122–123, 359.

[28] Wylie Kilpatrick, note in *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 33, pp. 490–491 (Oct., 1944).

[29] See *supra*, "Creation and Abolition of Offices."

[30] *Laws of Mississippi*, 1944, chs. 177, 294.

[31] *Acts and Joint Resolutions of South Carolina*, 1944 (reg. sess.), p. 1572; *State Proposals Voted Upon in 1944* (Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce, Washington, April, 1945), p. 27.

[32] *Acts of Louisiana*, 1944, no. 277; *Laws of Mississippi*, 1944, ch. 277.

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Certain Mississippi counties were authorized "to provide, construct, operate and maintain cold storage plants, meat curing plants, warehouses, syrup blending plants, creameries, and establishments for handling, processing, selling or trading in farm, orchard, and dairy products." Such plants or establishments may be operated by the county or leased by the board of supervisors to a coöperative association or other agency for operation. The board of directors of Beaufort county, South Carolina, was empowered, with approval of the voters of Bluffton and Yemassee townships, to construct a cold storage plant for use of the citizens of those townships under rules and regulations to be promulgated by the county board of directors. Bonds of the townships concerned may be issued to match funds obtained by gift, grant, or otherwise, for purchase of land and construction of the plant. Mississippi counties generally were empowered, after securing certificates of convenience and necessity from the state agricultural and industrial board, to acquire and operate industrial enterprises.[33]

Particularly significant in the local planning field was the participation of counties in city-county and regional planning. City-county planning activities were begun during the year by Davidson county and Nashville, Tennessee; San Joaquin county and Stockton, California; Allegheny county and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Onondaga county and Syracuse, New York; and Utah county and Provo, Utah. The planning commissions of Los Angeles county, California, and Hamilton county, Ohio, were coöperating with the city planning commissions of Los Angeles and Cincinnati, respectively, on plans of a metropolitan character. The planning board of Westchester county, New York, was working closely with the towns of the county in matters of joint interest. Several California counties were reported to have prepared master plans and programs of postwar public improvements.[34] Louisiana parishes were authorized, either singly or by joint agreement, to adopt and enforce airport zoning regulations.[35]

Functional Consolidation. Missouri was added to the growing list of states which, by constitutional provision or statute, confer broad authority upon local governmental units to act coöperatively in the performance of common functions.[36] The new Missouri constitution provides

[33] *Laws of Mississippi*, 1944, chs. 241, 251; *Acts and Joint Resolutions of South Carolina*, 1944 (reg. sess.), p. 1668; *ibid.* (spec. sess.), p. 2345.

[34] Paul W. Wager, "County Government," *Municipal Year Book*, 1945, pp. 244–248; Walter H. Blucher, "Planning Developments in 1944," *ibid.*, pp. 265–269.

[35] *Acts of Louisiana*, 1944, no. 118. This legislation was ratified by a constitutional amendment approved at the 1944 election. *State Proposals Voted Upon in 1944* (Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce, Washington, April, 1945), p. 24.

[36] Cf. this REVIEW, Vol. 31, p. 900; Vol. 34, p. 1158; Vol. 37, p. 1046; Vol. 38, p. 1104.

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that contiguous counties, not exceeding ten in number, may, by vote of a majority of the qualified electors voting thereon in each county concerned, join in performing any common function or service, including the purchase, construction, and maintenance of hospitals, almshouses, road machinery, and any other county property. Contiguous counties may likewise join in the employment of any county officer or employee common to the various counties concerned. Furthermore, any municipality or political subdivision of the state may, as provided by law, contract and coöperate with other municipalities or political subdivisions thereof, or with other states or their municipalities or political subdivisions, or with the United States, for the planning, development, construction, acquisition, or operation of any public improvement or facility, or for a common service. St. Louis county and the city of St. Louis are empowered to establish a metropolitan district or districts for the functional administration of services common to the area included therein.[37]

The actual practice of functional consolidation made most headway in the field of public health, and especially in the establishment of joint city-county health agencies to serve both urban and rural areas. Among the city-county health units reported as being organized during the year were those of Marion county and Indianapolis, Indiana; Lancaster county and Lincoln, Nebraska; Christian county and Hopkinsville, Kentucky; Las Animas county and Trinidad, Colorado; and Clark county and Winchester, Tennessee.[38] The Kentucky legislature provided during the year that, in any county containing a city of the second class, a city-county health department may be established by joint action of the fiscal court of the county and the legislative body of the second-class city.[39] Two hundred seventy-one American cities of more than 10,000 population were reported as being currently served by 210 city-county health units and 19 district units comprising more than one county; and 35 additional cities of similar population were served by county or district health agencies not reported as joint city-county organizations.[40]

[37] *Constitution of Missouri*, 1945, Art. VI, secs. 14, 16, 30.

[38] "Health Developments in 1944," *Municipal Year Book*, 1945, pp. 303–307; Paul W. Wager, "County Government," *ibid.*, pp. 244–248; Elwyn A. Mauck, notes in *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 33, pp. 562, 635 (Nov., Dec., 1944). On the other hand, the health departments of Knox county and Knoxville, Tennessee, which were consolidated in 1943, were again separated. Mauck, *loc. cit.*, p. 635.

[39] *Acts of Kentucky*, 1944 (reg. sess.), ch. 122. The counties covered by the act are Boyd (Ashland), Campbell (Newport), Fayette (Lexington), Kenton (Covington), and McCracken (Paducah). In three of these five counties—Boyd, Fayette, and McCracken—city-county departments previously operated under other authority. Cf. *Municipal Year Book*, 1945, pp. 316, 317. A city-county board of health for Jefferson county and the city of Louisville was established in 1942. See this REVIEW, Vol. 37, p. 1047.

[40] Joseph W. Mountin and Nina L. Norman, "Joint City-County Health Units," *Municipal Year Book*, 1945, pp. 308–323.

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San Diego county, California, and the city of San Diego established a joint recreation commission with a paid executive director; and in Bay City, Michigan, the county, school district, and city joined in employing a full-time director of recreation.[41] Mississippi counties were authorized to join with each other or with municipalities in providing community hospitals. Rural fire protection districts in Kentucky were empowered to contract for receiving fire protection service from other such districts or from municipal corporations. Louisiana parishes were authorized to cooperate with each other in airport zoning.[42]

IV. OPTIONAL CHARTERS AND HOME RULE

Oregon's constitution was amended to permit the enactment of an optional county-manager law.[43] In Missouri, where all counties have heretofore been required to have the same form of government, the new constitution stipulates that counties shall be divided into not more than four classes, and that alternative forms of government may be provided for the counties of any class.[44]

Constitutional home-rule powers were conferred upon Missouri counties of more than 85,000 inhabitants.[45] Any such county may frame, adopt, and amend a charter for its own government. The framing of a home-rule charter is to be by a bipartisan commission of 14 freeholders appointed by the circuit and probate judges of the county, upon petition by electors numbering 20 per cent of the vote for governor in the county at the last general election. Ratification is by majority vote of those voting on the question at a special election.

The voters of Michigan again defeated a proposed constitutional amendment which would have permitted the residents of Wayne county (Detroit) to frame and adopt a charter providing for a new form of government. The provisions of the proposed amendment, which prescribed the general features of the government to be established by any charter so framed, were substantially similar to those of a proposed amendment defeated in 1942.[46] Also defeated in the November election was a proposed home-rule charter for Montgomery county, Maryland.[47]

[41] John B. Blandford, Jr., "Administrative Organization," *ibid.*, pp. 239–243; Weaver W. Pangburn, "Recreation Developments in 1944," *ibid.*, pp. 479–483.

[42] *Acts of Kentucky*, 1944 (reg. sess.), ch. 133; *Acts of Louisiana*, 1944, no. 118; *Laws of Mississippi*, 1944, ch. 277.

[43] See *supra*, "County and Town Executives."

[44] *Constitution of Missouri*, 1945, Art. VI, secs. 8, 9.

[45] *Constitution of Missouri*, 1945, Art. VI, sec. 18. There are four such counties at present: Buchanan (St. Joseph), Greene (Springfield), Jackson (Kansas City), and St. Louis.

[46] Elwyn A. Mauck, note in *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 33, p. 490 (Oct., 1944); William P. Lovett, note in *ibid.*, pp. 633–634 (Dec., 1944). See this REVIEW, Vol. 37, p. 1049.

[47] See *supra*, "County and Town Executives."

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V. INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

Various examples of interlocal coöperation have been mentioned in the discussion of new functions and functional consolidation. Especially noteworthy are the numerous instances of city-county coöperation in planning and public-health activities.[48] County planning was being aided and stimulated by the state planning agencies of at least three states—Arkansas, Louisiana, and South Carolina.[49] Also deserving of mention in the field of state-local relationships is a New York statute which authorizes the superintendents of state tuberculosis hospitals, with the approval of the state commissioner of health, to enter into contracts with county officials for the purpose of making available to counties or parts thereof the laboratory services of the state institutions.[50] Coöperation of the federal government with local soil conservation districts continued to be of importance. By mid-December, the United States Department of Agriculture had entered into "memoranda of understanding" with 1,073 such districts covering approximately 605,340,166 acres, and with 18 grass conservation districts (in Montana) including approximately 6,613,136 acres.[51]

VI. RESEARCH

Several events of the year give evidence of continued interest in the study of rural local government with a view to its improvement. The New York legislature created a temporary state commission to study the existing laws of the state relative to counties and to recommend such changes, codification, and revision as may be necessary to make the county law uniform. At the end of the year, a series of hearings before the commission was under way, the subjects which had been discussed up to that time including broader legislative powers for county boards, a uniform budget system, elimination of the fee system, classification of counties, and the problem of a county executive.[52] Another investigatory agency established in New York was a "commission on municipal revenues and reduction of real estate taxes." It is the duty of this commission to study fiscal and other relationships between the state and local governmental units; the debt problems confronting municipalities, particularly cities; the fiscal practices and revenue requirements of all units of local government; and the effect of the local real property tax upon home-owners and rent-payers. The commission is to make recommendations concerning the various subjects examined, including recommendations for a program of reduction

[48] See *supra*, "New Functions," "Functional Consolidation."

[49] Blucher, *loc. cit.*

[50] *Laws of New York*, 1944 (reg. sess.), ch. 769.

[51] Data supplied by Soil Conservation Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

[52] *Laws of New York*, 1944 (reg. sess.), ch. 407; Elwyn A. Mauck, note in *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 34, p. 45 (Jan., 1945).

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in the real property tax. The general assembly of Virginia directed the state's advisory legislative council to make a study of the numerous state statutes relating to sanitary districts with a view to the possibility of enacting a single sanitary district code.[53]

At the University of Virginia, a division of local government was established in the Bureau of Public Administration. The division operates a county government clinic, through which the bureau's research staff conducts studies for counties at the request of their duly constituted authorities. This service to counties is financed in part from the bureau's budget and in part by funds contributed by the League of Virginia Counties. It is expected that the functions of the division of local government will gradually be broadened, and that its services will be made available to municipalities as well as counties.[54]

[53] *Laws of New York*, 1944 (reg. sess.), ch. 382; *Acts of Virginia*, 1944, p. 812.

[54] Information supplied by Dr. Raymond Uhl, Bureau of Public Administration, University of Virginia.

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MAINTAINING HIGH-LEVEL PRODUCTION AND EMPLOYMENT: A SYMPOSIUM*

I. A PRACTICAL APPROACH

JAMES E. MURRAY**
United States Senator from Montana

I

America has triumphed in the greatest war in all history, but we have yet to face the major enemy at home—unemployment and all the tragic waste and misery occasioned by it. By now it is hardly necessary to stress the grim fact that unemployment is a real threat. We have seen the first impact of demobilization and reconversion in many areas of the nation, especially in communities where aircraft and shipbuilding industries boomed in wartime. Some measures have been taken to cope with these short-run difficulties, and others are now under consideration. But the real danger lies beyond the present demobilization period. Fear has been creeping into the heart of all America—our returning soldiers, our war workers, our young graduates facing an uncertain future, our older and handicapped workers—a fear that relates to what will happen as things get back to "normal." The dread lies in the word "normal."

We know, of course, and we are constantly being reminded, that for a while one may expect activity of boom proportions—that those who have saved during the war will be purchasing the cars and radios and refrigerators that they have gone without for years, that agricultural and other exports to the devastated world abroad will be at a record peacetime high, that producers will be spending feverishly to restock inventories and replace worn-out capital equipment. However, these are temporary factors which will end all too soon. Nobody has forgotten that they quickly petered out after the last war. When backlogs at home and abroad have been filled, the postwar bubble will burst.

Meanwhile there are basic difficulties in our system that will emerge just as soon as we get back to "normalcy." It became apparent in the last depression—and the experts all agree—that there is something wrong with the distribution of income in our economy. Purchasing power tends to become clogged and to pile up in idle hoards. Not enough of the income created by production gets into the hands of those who will spend it back into production. The results are less output, fewer and smaller incomes,

* Planned and arranged by Fritz Morstein Marx, Queens College.

** Chairman, Senate Committee on Education and Labor and Senate Special Committee on Small Business; senior sponsor of the proposed "Full Employment Act."

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a decrease in jobs, slowing down of the wheels of industry, depression, mass unemployment.

It is true that we have had full production and more than full employment during the war. But this was because roughly half of our national product was consumed by the government and a large part of the huge earnings in war and civilian production was poured back into our economy, which kept it operating at the highest speed it ever attained. Government expenditures are now being slashed at an ever-increasing rate. Such reduction clearly demands that the slack be taken up through expenditures made by business and consumers—or else we shall be operating our economy far below capacity.

The term "capacity" has deeper implications. Capacity means more than plants and machinery and tools and assembly lines. It can be most concretely visualized in terms of men and women equipped to produce. The more workers there are, the greater the productive capacity of the nation. And the better the training and equipment of these workers, the higher our capacity. One of the most startling events of recent history—indeed, of all history—has been the remarkable increase in our productive capacity in the last few years. Even conservative estimates tell us that by 1950 our gross national output will be almost double what it was in the peak prosperity year 1929.

This should be all to the good. And it will be if we take full advantage of it to expand the stream of goods and services flowing to the people. Unfortunately, however, our economic vulnerability has kept pace with the rapid growth of productivity. We have not solved the problem of underconsumption and unemployment. We still have the threat of so-called "over-production."

This country cannot afford again to go into a depression such as we experienced in the prewar decade. Mass unemployment would mean discontent, disunity, and an irreparable loss both in physical wealth and in moral well-being. An unemployment crisis in America would spread like wildfire throughout the world. It would bring forth dumping, higher tariffs, export subsidies, blocked currencies, and every other new and old type of economic warfare. And this would inevitably wreck our plans for an effective international security organization, turn back the clock of progress, and plunge us into another holocaust of blood, suffering, and chaos.

II

Business cannot by itself keep the wheels of industry turning at a rate that will provide sustained employment opportunities for all who are willing and able to work. Unless producers have confidence in adequate markets, they dare not expand plant and equipment. But how can a business

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man expand when he is gripped by fear that we are headed for depression? There is one kind of risk that it is his function to assume—the competitive risk that he may have to meet the challenge of a better and cheaper product. He cannot, however, be expected to take on the additional risk that the bottom may fall out of the market—not so long as we continue to operate within the framework of the private profit system.

A short time ago, Dr. Edwin G. Nourse, of the Brookings Institution, made this clear before the Senate War Contracts Subcommittee, of which I was chairman. He said, in part: "But no one who will honestly look at the past and present record of America can doubt that the majority of businessmen are, in fact, afraid of competition, just as they are afraid of really free enterprise. There is a constant fear that there won't be enough purchasing power to go around, that if we really 'let ourselves go,' with all our skill and ingenuity, with all the technical efficiency we have developed, there would be general over-production, flooding of the markets, and general breakdown."[1]

The result? The producer plays it safe. He prices for depression, thereby creating depression. In the words of Mr. Nourse: " . . . setting the profit sights too high, charging what the traffic will bear when the going is easy, refusing to embark on economic ventures unless a return is assured which will yield profits on idle plant as well as utilized plant, and in periods of unemployment as well as more prosperous periods, is self-defeating in the long run."[2] When a business man is forced to face the risk of mass unemployment and bankruptcy, he will inevitably seek some avenue of escape. This leads to restrictions on production, increased prices, and the discharging of his employees.

It is therefore obvious that we need the assurance of a program under which the government coöperates with business and undertakes to create confidence in the existing markets by holding forth a guarantee that there will be no widespread unemployment. Such a program enables the business man to overcome his fears of a depression and to maintain reasonable prices, high production, good wages, and full employment.

III

A program of this kind can be developed only by the federal government. Neither local and state governments nor any single economic group can assume the responsibility. Only the federal government is in a position to look at the economic scene as a whole, to locate the trouble spots, and to take effective action to forestall inflation or deflation.

The proposed "Full Employment Act"—which at the time of our writ-

[1] *Mobilization and Demobilization Problems*, Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 78th Cong., 2d Sess., *Hearings*, pt. 3, pp. 92–93.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 96.

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ing is being debated in the Congress—is based upon this principle. The bill stems from a report on Legislation for Reconversion and Full Employment submitted to the Senate Committee on Military Affairs on December 18, 1944, by the then Senator from Missouri, Mr. Harry S. Truman, and myself. This report contained the following statement relating to the gigantic war economy which had been built up in our country: "Almost half of the framework supporting this giant structure consists of war contracts. When war contracts are withdrawn, the danger is that the entire edifice will topple over. . . . Unless an economic substitute is found for war contracts, mass unemployment will become a serious threat and the number of unemployed men and women in this country might easily surpass anything that was dreamed of during the last depression."[3]

The report pointed out that the Contract Settlement Act, the Surplus Property Act, and the War Mobilization and Reconversion Act[4] are "purely transition measures—yes, important transition measures—but nothing more. None of them attempts to assure a sound postwar economy."[5] The report then discussed the government's responsibility toward postwar employment:

"In January, 1944, the President of the United States, in his message to Congress on the State of the Union, outlined an 'economic bill of rights.' The first point in this document was the following:

'The right of a useful and remunerative job in the industries, or shops, or farms, or mines, of the Nation.'

". . . Statisticians may debate among themselves as to whether the precise goal should be a little more or a little less than the President's 60,000,000 figure. But no thoughtful American—no matter what his creed or station in life—would deny that every man or woman in the country who is willing to work and capable of working has the right to a job.

". . . The right to a job is not self-enforceable. It can be translated into reality only through the joint action of the people of our country—business, labor, agriculture, and all other groups—acting through the medium of their duly elected government. In short, the so-called right to a job is a meaningless figure of speech unless our government assumes responsibility for the expansion of our peacetime economy so that it will be capable of assuring full employment."[6]

The report also contained a draft bill based upon recognition of the government's responsibility for the expansion of our peacetime economy, and the bill was transmitted without commitment for the purpose of

[3] Senate Subcommittee Print No. 12, 78th Cong., 2d Sess., p. 10.

[4] On this legislation and its background, see V. O. Key, "The Reconversion Phase of Demobilization," in this REVIEW, Vol. 38 (1944), pp. 1137 ff.

[5] *Loc. cit.* in note 3 above, p. 10.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 11–12.

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stimulating discussion. Early in January of this year, several of my colleagues joined me in a study of the proposed legislation; thereafter we very carefully prepared a revised measure. On January 22, 1945, I introduced the revised measure in the Senate on behalf of myself, the Senator from New York (Mr. Wagner), the Senator from Utah (Mr. Thomas), and the Senator from Wyoming (Mr. O'Mahoney). Subsequently, four Republicans—the Senator from Oregon (Mr. Morse), the Senator from New Hampshire (Mr. Tobey), the Senator from Vermont (Mr. Aiken), and the Senator from North Dakota (Mr. Langer)—joined in the Senate sponsorship of this measure.

IV

The proposed "Full Employment Act" does three things:

First, it writes into law the solemn obligation of the federal government to assure an expanding economy which can provide useful jobs for all who are willing and able to work. During the depression, the federal government assumed the obligation to combat destitution. Through relief and made-work, we provided twenty million people with a bare subsistence. The bill proclaims to every one that the government's responsibility today is not merely to allay destitution, but to prevent depression and unemployment.

Second, the bill defines the task of the President in making good on this policy commitment. It requires him to prepare and submit to Congress at the beginning of every year a complete and well-rounded program for maintaining full production and full employment. The program would constitute the President's annual employment budget in broad outline. But instead of merely proposing annual expenditures for various federal agencies, as does the President's regular budget under the Budget and Accounting Act of 1921, his recommendations would lay out the policies he believes the federal government should follow in the coming year to secure full employment in the nation. We call this economic budget—to distinguish it from the President's annual fiscal budget—the National Production and Employment Budget. Through it the President would make known to Congress and the country (1) the total number of job opportunities needed for all persons willing and able to work; (2) the total amount of goods and services that our economy must provide if we are to have full employment; (3) the total power of the country to buy goods and services, i.e., the total purchasing power of business, consumers, and the government; and (4) an appraisal as to whether this purchasing power is adequate to create a demand for enough goods and services to provide full employment.

If things looked as though they were going well, the President's program would be aimed at maintaining the trend. If storm signals showed the

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danger of a slump ahead, the program would aim at strengthening the market for goods and services in order to bolster production and employment. This might be done by several measures. Business, for example, might be encouraged to expand by tax reductions and other incentives available to government. If it appeared that such measures would not be sufficient, state and local governments might provide adequate business stimulus by public works or similar programs. When it should become evident—and only then—that the job of keeping employment in high gear could not be done by private enterprise and our state and local governments, it would be the President's duty to propose stimulation of the economy by actions of the federal government. The bill does not specify what individual measures are to be taken to maintain full employment. It only makes it an obligation of government to see to it that jobs are available for all willing and able to take them.

Third, in addition to making it the duty of the President to propose broad policies for full employment, the bill requires that final decisions on these policies be reached by Congress. To reach such decisions would be a statutory obligation which Congress would be powerless to dodge. This is the bill's heart.

V

In recent years there has been a disastrous tendency toward the decline of congressional authority. Unable to cope with swiftly changing conditions, Congress has again and again delegated its policy-making powers to the Chief Executive. If the "Full Employment Act" becomes law, we shall see Congress awaken from its long Rip Van Winkle slumber and begin to live up to the expectations of our founding fathers.

The bill provides for the creation of a Joint Congressional Committee on the National Production and Employment Budget. Composed of leading Democratic and Republican members of both houses, this committee would be instructed to set aside sectional issues and special problems and focus upon the whole picture of where our country is headed and what our government should be doing. Instead of being neatly tucked away in committee files, the President's full-employment program would be referred to this joint committee. Public hearings would be held. Witnesses from all walks of life would be called. The final judgment of the committee on the proposed full-employment policies would then be cast in the form of a joint resolution and reported to both houses.

Then, in the House and in the Senate, we should see a full and open debate on the general policy of the federal government—the kind of debate that we have needed for decades in order to clarify the position of the Republican and Democratic parties. Thus, instead of major issues being debated every four years during presidential campaigns and for-

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gotten in intervening years, questions affecting the economic life of the nation would be kept constantly before the people. But debate would be empty and meaningless if it did not lead to decisions; and the bill forces Congress to face up to its responsibilities under the Constitution and make these decisions—by standing up and voting on the joint resolution. When passed, with or without amendments, the joint resolution would set forth the general policy of the federal government during the coming period. It would serve as a framework and guide for action on specific measures by all the committees of Congress and all the many agencies of government.

Traditionally, the fine art of "buck-passing" has flourished in Washington as nowhere else in the world. When things go wrong, the President can always blame Congress. The Senate can blame the House. The House Democrats can shift the burden to the House Republicans, and the House Republicans can "pass the buck" to the White House. Under the "Full Employment Act," the President, both houses of Congress, and both parties would have to come out in the open and tell every one where they stood.

Hunting for responsibility among the ninety-six committees of Congress is like hunting for a needle in a haystack. There is no over-all responsibility for the acts of Congress as it is now constituted. The bill takes the most far-reaching step yet proposed for the discharge of this responsibility, because it creates a body charged with making decisions on basic policies of the government. In effect, the bill would initiate the streamlining of Congress which many leaders in government and business have so long advocated.

The steps toward full employment would be taken by the President and Congress in the usual way. That is, the two branches of government would work together, the President proposing and Congress enacting the necessary legislation. The top executive of a corporation must appraise economic trends and develop specific goals for the coming few years—whether it is for the production of three hundred thousand automobiles or the development of a helicopter that can be landed in any one's back yard. In accordance with these goals, he must lay out a specific budget of future expenses—so much for new plant and equipment, so much for wages and salaries, and so much for advertising. Next, this budget must be presented to the board of directors, which serves the same function as that exercised by Congress. The board of directors goes over the budget with a fine-tooth comb, readjusting it if necessary, and then gives the executive the green light. If any important change in policy is to be made, he must report back to the board and get his orders. Under the "Full Employment Act," Uncle Sam would operate on these same sound principles of business budgeting.

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VI

In drafting the bill, its sponsors received an abundance of free advice from the peddlers of panaceas and the promoters of specific projects. We agreed with many that their ideas were sound. But we came to the conclusion that by itself not one of their suggestions was sufficient to assure full employment in a free America. Under the "Full Employment Act," we can give each of these supposed panaceas their proper place. The bill provides for a National Production and Employment Budget which could be as broad as the needs of the country and the vision of our leaders.

Within the framework of this budget, the government is to develop a comprehensive program that would include taxes, wages, monopoly control, public works and conservation, social security, health and education services, capital for small business and veterans, and any other policy or plan that made sense. From year to year, there would be many shifts in the government's full-employment program. Conditions change, and men's needs change with them. At one time, it might be imperative to prevent inflation; at another time, to prevent deflation.

Would enactment of the bill guarantee full employment? The answer is—no. Enactment of the bill would merely guarantee that we were taking the first step on a long, hard road, and that we were doing it with the courage to look ahead and with our eyes fixed upon important goals. The effectiveness of the full-employment program in any year or any decade would depend upon the combined wisdom of both the President and Congress. It would depend upon the coöperation received from business-men, workingmen, farmers, the mayors of our cities, and the governors of our states. In the final analysis, the question of whether or not each of us shall enjoy the right to work will be in the hands of the American people.

II. TECHNICAL REQUIREMENTS

GERHARD COLM

Fiscal Division, Bureau of the Budget

I

Maintaining high-level production and employment is widely recognized today as a desirable objective of government policy. Those who oppose the government's accepting express responsibility for the achievement of this objective insist that government in a free-enterprise economy is not equipped to live up to such a responsibility. Criticism comes from two sides. Protagonists of a *laissez-faire* economy fear that a government pledged to assure full employment will be driven into more and more

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planning and regimentation. Protagonists of a planned economy, on the other hand, insist that any attempt to solve the problem of full employment within the framework of free enterprise will be futile. They fear that such an effort will only delay the transition to a planned economy, which they believe is the only final solution of our economic and social problems. Both kinds of critics maintain that the technical requirements of a policy designed to maintain full employment are incompatible with a free-enterprise economy.

What, then, are the technical requirements of a policy of full employment? Is the government equipped, or can it be equipped, to do the job without paying the price of adopting a regimented economy? Perhaps those who speak of full employment in a free-enterprise economy are driven into the same dilemma in which the oldster found himself when telling his grandchild about the alligator chasing the frog. The frog jumped from the log into the river, swam through the river, hopped on land—the alligator coming closer and closer. When the alligator finally cornered the frog under a tree and opened his mouth to swallow him, things were getting desperate for both frog and story-teller. The old man knew only one solution: "The frog looked up and saw the tree and just as the 'gator's jaws were closing down, the frog flew up into the tree." "But Grandpa," said the little boy, "frogs can't fly." " 'Deed they cain't, Son, 'deed they cain't," was the answer, "but this frog flew . . . he had to."

Economic insecurity threatens our national and individual existence. What is the solution? Must we change from a jumping, swimming, and hopping frog into a flying frog? Must we radically change our institutional equipment, our ways of work and living? Or can we influence the general level of economic activities without attempting to control all of them in detail? Can we, in other words, insure job opportunities without telling everyone what to produce and what to consume? No exhaustive answer to these questions can be given in a short paper. But before even trying to answer them we should investigate the requirements of a policy of full employment in a free-enterprise system.

II

There has, of course, never been a free-enterprise system without important governmental activities supporting, supplementing, and limiting private economic activities. We observe in reality a multitude of intermediate stages between the hopping and the flying frog of our parable. Here we are not concerned with public policies that affect only specific interests, such as measures designed to protect labor, aid agriculture, subsidize shipping, or foster any particular industry. We are concerned only with policies that affect the general level of economic activities and thereby the general availability of job opportunities. All through the history

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of economics and economic policies we notice the search for that device of policy which could be used as a lever for influencing economic developments as a whole.

In the time of mercantilism, it was thought that the circulation of money—and money meant coin minted of precious metals—was the critical element in economic expansion. More money in circulation meant more business; reducing money in circulation caused economic stagnation. Money was added by import of precious metal, which in turn required stimulating exports and discouraging imports of merchandise; this was called a "favorable balance of trade," while an "unfavorable balance of trade" drained money off for payment of the import surplus. Thus, influencing foreign trade was regarded as the key to a government policy designed to promote economic expansion.

When it was recognized, however, that money could be added not only by the import of precious metals but also by the creation of bank credit, policy guidance of foreign trade lost its use as a lever for influencing economic activities as a whole. It was relegated largely to the status of a device for protecting specific industries and interests. Central bank policy now took the rôle of the *prima donna* in the theater of economic operations. Lowering the discount rate was viewed as a means to stimulate the use of bank credit and to encourage economic activities in general. Conversely, an increase in the discount rate was looked upon as an effective damper on such activities, particularly speculative ones. This was the economic policy devised by the so-called neo-classicists—a policy believed to be effective for influencing economic activities in general and yet compatible with an otherwise *laissez-faire* attitude. The neo-classical theory has prevailed among economists during the first quarter of this century.

The Great Depression of the thirties shattered their confidence in the effectiveness of central bank policy as a steering mechanism for a free-enterprise economy. Even though credit policy was not ineffective as a brake on speculation and remained in use for stimulating certain types of business investments, it could no longer be regarded as *the* strategic weapon with which a slack economy could be lifted to a level of full employment. The conclusion suggested itself that the government must come to grips with a more vital element of the economic mechanism. What could be assumed to be the most vital element in economic development?

Classical theory taught that low prices for the factors of production—particularly low wages and low interest—cause expectation of profit and induce business men to expand production and hire more workers. More production means increased disbursement of money in the form of payrolls, and hence additional purchasing power. Expanding business thus creates its own market—if only (a) the costs of factors of production are sufficiently low, and (b) credit is available to bridge over the time until

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markets have been expanded. However, during the depression costs of factors of production were low, and plentiful credit was available, yet business did not expand.

Perhaps business does not dare to expand except when orders come in or markets can be anticipated with a high degree of certainty. If government wants to influence business activities without directly telling business what to do, it must increase the amount of active purchasing power in the hands of consumers. It can do that, for instance, by additional government expenditures for public works and other developmental projects which put idle resources to useful work, at the same time augmenting wages and purchasing power and creating markets for business. Or the government can reduce taxes, thus freeing purchasing power and helping to revive markets.

With the recognition of these interrelations, a new weapon was added to the economic arsenal of democracy: fiscal policy. Fiscal policy has been defined as government expenditures, revenues, borrowing and debt management, considered with a view toward their impact on the flow of purchasing power. Fiscal policy does affect the general level of economic transactions and job opportunities without interfering with the basic principles of free enterprise, freedom in the choice of a job, and freedom in the choice of consumption. It can be used for deflating a boom and for stimulating a slack market. Thus, it appears that finally, on the basis of more refined economic theory and the depression experience, the long-sought lever of economic policy has been found.

III

The experience of the Great Depression not only induced the development of fiscal theory, but also served as a first testing ground for the effectiveness of fiscal policy. The statistical record of the depression years made it almost certain that an increase in government expenditures caused an increase in purchasing power and recovery in business activities. War experience has proved the point beyond doubt. Yet there remained the fact that the same amount of additional federal expenditures had a different effect on production and employment under various circumstances. Analysis of the record suggests that during certain periods the results of a job-creating fiscal policy of the federal government were partly offset by unfavorable effects of other policies, federal, state, and local. For instance, during the depression state and local governments adopted sales taxes which hindered a price decline and reduced consumer purchasing power. These governments also were often forced to reduce their own outlays for public works and other purposes. By the financial exigencies of the depression, they were driven to pursue policies that directly counteracted the efforts of the federal government.

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The policy of emergency expenditures induced an increase in consumer expenditures in accord with theoretical expectations. However, it brought forth only a relatively small amount of additional business investments.[1] Business apparently felt not sufficiently assured that the government would continue the recovery policy of sustaining purchasing power—a strong argument in favor of clear statutory sanction of a governmental full-employment policy. Nor was the tax policy of the federal government brought into accord with its other fiscal policies. In addition, some measures of wage policy, while fully justified on their own grounds, were not conducive to the recovery of production and increased employment. The price policy of the National Industrial Recovery Administration is another example of inconsistency. It is true that low costs of factors of production were not sufficient to engender profit expectations in view of shrinking markets. It is also true, however, that government-supported markets will induce economic expansion only if business has confidence in sustained profit expectations.

The war experience afforded another test of the effectiveness and limits of fiscal policies. Fiscal policy was included in President Roosevelt's program to combat inflation and insure economic stabilization. If fiscal policy alone had been chosen to do the job, we should have needed much more drastic tax or saving measures than were politically acceptable. Fiscal policy had to be supplemented by a great many other measures, such as price and wage and credit policies. Both the depression and the war taught us the lesson that fiscal policy is a very useful tool, but not a panacea. The task of maintaining high-level production and employment is too big to be accomplished by any single device. Fiscal policy can be effective only when reinforced by many other policies.

An example may illustrate the limits of fiscal policy as a governmental tool. Assume that monopolistic organizations exist in an economy, enabling certain businesses to realize extraordinary profits. Assume further that a large part of these profits is neither distributed as dividends nor used for expansion of industrial facilities, but accumulated in the form of deposits or invested in securities. An accumulation of "idle" funds may introduce into the economy a deflationary trend and cause a slump in employment. In a situation like this, it is possible, of course, to offset the deflationary trend caused by monopolistic profits through additional government expenditures or tax reduction in order to assure continuing full employment. Such a policy would be possible, but unwise, because it would not remove the basic cause of the deflationary trend. It would be wiser to introduce measures designed to prevent the monopolistic practices or to tax away a portion of profits not put to active use. Such measures may often require

[1] See Gerhard Colm and Fritz Lehmann, "Public Spending and Recovery in the United States," *Social Research*, Vol. 3 (1936), pp. 129 ff.

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time to work out and fail to succeed fully in removing the cause of deflation. Fiscal policy, then, should be used as a prompt but temporary device, to be applied to those situations in which other measures fail to bring about the desired result. It is therefore not enough to identify deflationary trends and use compensatory fiscal measures. In addition, the underlying causes of such deflationary trends must be analyzed and all policies available in the "tool chest" of government must be brought to bear on them.[2]

These additional policies include foreign trade policies, wage policies, price policies, subsidies, federal grants to state and local governments, education policies, and so forth. All of them are used for specific purposes, often for purposes of particular vested interests. They are powerful tools of policy, but partly ineffective as far as the general level of employment is concerned, because frequently the effects of one type of policy counteract another. Perhaps high-level production and employment can best be secured, not by any further addition to our tool chest of policies, but by a procedure which permits the consistent and sustained use of all available policies in a coördinated program. "The most powerful weapon in the economic arsenal of democracy is coördination of a great variety of policy devices."[3]

The proposed "Full Employment Act" reflects the experiences of the depression and the war with respect to economic and fiscal policies. Its forerunner, the so-called "Patton Bill,"[4] placed all emphasis on a provision for increasing government outlays should private business fail to invest an amount sufficient to keep the economy going at full blast. No reference was made to any policy except government lending to business, and outright government spending if private enterprise should be unwilling to borrow for business expansion. Quite contrary to this version, the pending bill, in the form in which it was adopted by the Senate (S. 380), lists a long catalogue of federal policies which should be considered in the President's program of action. The emphasis of the present bill is placed (a) on a declaration of policy of full employment, and (b) on the establishment of a legislative and administrative procedure for formulating a coördinated program of policies designed to attain full employment. Government expenditure is treated as one instrument of policy to be used if all other policies combined prove inadequate to assure full employment in a specific period. Government expenditure is also regarded as the policy device

[2] For a survey of the "tool chest" of government activities, see the exhibit submitted by Budget Director Harold D. Smith with his testimony on the Full Employment Bill before the Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, *Hearings*, 79th Cong., 1st Sess. (Aug. 30, 1945).

[3] Budget Director Harold D. Smith, in his testimony, *ibid.*

[4] See James G. Patton, "The Federal Government's Rôle in the Postwar Economy," in this REVIEW, Vol. 38 (1944), pp. 1127 ff.

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most adaptable to short-run fluctuations in business conditions and particularly useful as the most flexible element in the whole program.

The present bill provides only for the use of policies which are authorized by existing statutes or which Congress may authorize by future legislation. It proposes a legislative and administrative mechanism designed to achieve coördination and timely application of whatever policies Congress has adopted. Only the use of these policies in coördinated and well-timed fashion could accomplish the job. Confidence in the government's determination is the most essential prerequisite for the success of a policy of full employment because assurance of job opportunities, by the same token, means assurance of markets conducive to business expansion.

IV

Even the most perfect policy devices can be used effectively only when the program they are to serve is formulated on the basis of an accurate diagnosis of business conditions. One of the most interesting features of the "Full Employment Act" before Congress is the provision for a "production and employment budget" (national budget). In the version adopted by the Senate, the bill requires the President to transmit to Congress annually, with quarterly revisions, two kinds of estimates: (1) for the ensuing year or longer periods, estimates of the employment opportunities needed for full employment, the production of goods and services at full employment, and the volume of investment and expenditure needed for the purchase of such goods and services; and (2) estimates of "current and foreseeable" trends in the number of employment opportunities, the production of goods and services, and the volume of investment and expenditures for the purchase of goods and services, not taking into account the effects of the general program of policies that is to be recommended in the same message.[5]

In the event that the projected national income is estimated to be below the national income necessary for full employment in the ensuing period, the President is required to recommend a program of policies designed to lift the national income to the full-employment level. If the projected income exceeds the income necessary for full employment, an inflationary tendency is indicated and the President should recommend measures designed to curb the inflationary trend. This is a very neat and logical prescription of a scientific basis for policy formulation. Are we at present technically equipped to supply these estimates with a reasonable degree of accuracy? What technical arrangements are necessary to secure such estimates?

[5] It is not intended to review here all statistical requirements of the bill in detail. The discussion is limited to the essentials.

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V

The estimate of the labor force should not cause great difficulties on the basis of current statistics. The factual data are supplemented by surveys of employment intentions. There are special difficulties in the period of transition—when millions of workers pulled into the labor force during the war must decide whether to withdraw from it or to seek continuing employment, and when millions of veterans must make up their minds whether to turn to civilian employment or to avail themselves of the educational facilities offered them. Under peacetime conditions, the estimate of the labor force for the ensuing year will be less problematical.

The estimate of the national income required for full employment and production implies an estimate of the average productivity per worker. This may raise considerable difficulties if the estimate is intended to cover a period far into the future. For the ensuing year, a reasonable approximation should be much easier because productivity does not change very suddenly from year to year. When there is considerable unemployment at the time the estimate is made, it cannot be assumed that the unemployed, if employed, would produce the same as the average of all workers. But this difficulty can also be overcome on the basis of reasonable assumptions about possible ways in which the unemployed might be reëmployed.

More serious problems arise when a projection of national income and production and a quantitative appraisal of proposed policies are to be made. The past record of business forecasting is not too encouraging. More cases of dismal failure than of successful prediction can be cited. Strictly speaking, the pending "Full Employment Act" does not imply prediction of business conditions, but "projections"—that is, hypothetical predictions based on the assumption that no new policies of full employment or economic stabilization are adopted by the federal government. Thus the bill avoids the need to guess what policies Congress will enact.[6] More important however, is the fact that most business forecasts of the past, particularly of the twenties, were based on the so-called "business barometers." These "business barometers," in turn, rested on very shaky statistics and theories. Recent developments in the theory of economic dynamics and a spectacular improvement in statistical methods and sources have greatly increased the possibilities of economic projections. The growth of scientific sample surveys should be particularly mentioned.

This is not the place for a detailed description of the methods of economic projection that may be used under the "Full Employment Act," and that, as a matter of fact, are already in use by many business and

[6] The often-mentioned inaccuracy of the forecasts of federal expenditures in the official budgets can largely be explained by the fact that these estimates usually did not take account of legislation subsequently adopted by Congress. Critics overlook the fact that they were hypothetical projections rather than predictions.

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government economists. I shall only describe briefly the main principles on which the possibility of economic projections rests.[7] It is most important that actual estimates of the so-called national budget should be available covering the most recent past, if possible up to the time when the projection is to be made.[8] It is much easier to project economic trends by estimating changes from the most recent past than by estimating directly the absolute totals for a future period.

Changes from the base period may be divided into primary and secondary. Going down the line, item by item, the estimator asks himself what changes in economic transactions he has reason to expect. Assume, for purposes of illustration, that we are in a postwar restocking period, say in 1948, with conditions of high employment, and now have to make a projection for 1949. First, there are the expenditures of the federal government. They are expected to decline—disregarding in the projection all new programs which may be enacted on the basis of the President's recommendations—because certain demobilization expenditures are winding up. Business investments have been running high, and the ratio of capital in plant and equipment to current sales indicates that a turning point in business investment may be near. The sample survey of contemplated investments in plant and equipment confirms that some of the investments, deferred during the war period, have now been completed, and that business men expect a decline in their new investment. Housing, however, is still rising. Statistics of permits for residential construction show an upturn. A continuing increase in residential building is therefore expected. Also, the deferred demand for automobiles and for durable household equipment has not yet been satisfied; the demand for television sets and

[7] In a British white paper on Analysis of the Sources of War Finance and Estimates of the National Income and Expenditure in the Years 1938 to 1944 (Cmd. 6623, London, 1945), it is said: " . . . the problem of maintaining employment is very largely the problem of maintaining total expenditure, public and private, and in an economy where this is accepted as one of the prime aims of government policy it becomes peculiarly important to have not only statistics adequate to measure that expenditure, but a method of bringing them together and classifying them which makes possible the necessary comparisons with the immediate past and with the present position in other countries" (p. 2). See also Gerhard Colm, "From Estimates of National Income to Projections of the Nation's Budget," *Social Research*, Vol. 12 (1945), pp. 350 ff.

[8] It is quite significant that the President's budget for the fiscal year 1946, submitted to Congress early in January, 1945, included estimates of the nation's budget for the calendar year 1944, and that the 1946 budget review, issued by the budget director August 2, 1945, presented the nation's budget for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1945. The last quarter in each of these estimates has, of course, more the character of a forecast than of an estimate based on actual statistics. In the past, estimates of national income were available only several years after the end of the period.

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other new devices is still going strong. All such impending changes are estimated with the help of available surveys, and quantitatively appraised with the expert advice of the industries concerned. These are examples of the estimate of primary changes,[9] i.e., of changes which are expected to take place under the assumption that *general* business conditions remain the same in the ensuing year. They are changes that result from the past rather than in response to presently occurring events.

When the expected primary changes have been added up, it is possible to compute their direct impact on the national income as a whole. Assume that the primary changes—expected increases and decreases—were estimated to result in a net reduction of ten billion dollars. Taking into account such factors as taxes and undistributed business profits, one can estimate the resulting change in incomes disposable for consumption and savings by individuals. From the change in disposable income, an estimated change in consumption can be calculated on the basis of past experience.[10] In a similar way, inventory accumulations, import requirements, and many other factors respond rather promptly to changes in general business conditions. These are examples of secondary[11] changes that must be taken into account before a final projection for the ensuing year can be made.

Projections therefore require (a) the most up-to-date actual data of national income and production and their component parts; (b) an appraisal of imminent trends, especially in government expenditures, business investments, and consumer attitudes; (c) a knowledge of the responses of business and consumers to changes in economic conditions on the basis of the record of the past; and (d), most of all, the exercise of good common sense in combining all the pieces of information and expert advice into a consistent pattern. Great improvements have been made in statistical sources and methods of investigation. Yet we are at the beginning rather than at the end of this development. Particularly, the surveys of business and consumer attitudes and intentions are still in the experi-

[9] In the literature, the primary changes are often called "autonomous" changes. They are "autonomous" only with respect to the time period in which they occur; they are often determined by economic conditions of the past.

[10] Relationships obtained from past experience are not used mechanically. It is probable, for instance, that consumers may react differently to a reduction in income when they have considerable wartime savings than when they have fewer savings as a reserve to draw upon. For a realistic appraisal of this fact, more knowledge of the distribution of wartime savings is needed than we now have.

[11] The secondary changes include the impact of increased or decreased primary changes on consumption—the so-called "multiplier" effect; the impact of changes in markets on business investments—the so-called "leverage" effect; and other "induced" transactions such as changes in inventories in response to changes in business conditions.

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mental stage. The determining factors of business investment—the rôle of market analysis and price-cost relationships—are not yet fully explored. More recent data of consumer expenditures and savings by income brackets are also needed.

When it comes to appraising the quantitative effects of recommended policies, still other statistical problems will arise. A technical tool for the appraisal of various policy recommendations is the economic "model." The model is even more hypothetical than the projection. The projection is based on the assumption that the government does not adopt any new policy recommendations; the model is based on the assumption that such policies are adopted as are necessary to achieve full employment. As there are always several ways for accomplishing this policy end, several models can be constructed; comparison of these various models serves the study of alternative policy programs.[12] With the aid of alternative models, feasibility and costs of various policies or combinations of policies may be analyzed. Projections and models of national budgets must supplement each other as tools for policy determination. Projections help to determine the need for government action; alternative models help in appraising proposed policies that will meet that need.

VI

Perfection of the art of projecting economic conditions and of appraising proposed policies in quantitative form to the extent visualized by the authors of the "Full Employment Act" would be a great step toward providing a scientific basis for policy formulation. Of course, the main objectives of the bill can be pursued even before statistical sources have been sufficiently improved. If a downturn in employment becomes noticeable, for instance, measures could be proposed that tend to offset a decline, though the magnitude of the decline and the effects of the counter-measures cannot yet be determined in exact quantitative terms. However, even after our statistical sources and methods have been extensively refined, policy formulation still would remain subject to political controversy and always will remain so.

Assume at a certain time, given the generally accepted objective of full employment, the figures prove that purchasing power should be increased or curbed, as the case may be. There will then still be a variety of ways in which this could be done. Pressure groups and local interests would still fight for the increase or curtailment of purchasing power by a method most beneficial to the people they represent. The proponent of a special measure would not only have to defend his recommendation on its own merits, but also consider how it affects production and employment of the

[12] For an example of model construction, see National Planning Association, *National Budgets for Full Employment* (Washington, 1945).

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nation as a whole. The procedure incorporated into the "Full Employment Act" would not surrender political decisions to the economists and statisticians. However, the bill would provide a more orderly way of appraising political controversies in the light of the general welfare. All the data needed for the decision of controversial issues would have to be submitted for public criticism and debate.

The procedure under the bill is similar in character to the appropriation procedure set up under the Budget and Accounting Act of 1921. That act did not determine the amount of appropriations for aid to agriculture or for salaries of federal employees, for instance. It only prescribed that whatever amounts the President should propose to spend under congressional authorization should be included in the budget estimates, so that Congress might fully consider the financial implications of its actions. High-level production and employment will certainly not be the only objective of government policy. It would be very desirable, however, if each policy proposal—such as a change in the minimum wage rates, or in tax legislation, or in the tariff, or in agricultural subsidies—should also have to be analyzed in terms of its impact on the so-called national budget. All policies would therefore be considered in terms of both their intrinsic merits and their social costs.

The Budget and Accounting Act intended to establish a system of financial accounting; the approach to be used in the nation's budget for the appraisal of policy recommendations would establish a system of social accounting. Far from undermining free institutions, such a development would add to the effectiveness of democratic discussion and democratic determination of economic policies.

III. BRITISH PLANS

W. HARDY WICKWAR
United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration

I

The United Kingdom has gone considerably farther than the United States in the acceptance of full employment as one of the prime aims of government policy. There is a widespread feeling that it may also have gone farther in devising governmental machinery for the realization of this aim. On both counts—the end and the means—the present trend in the United Kingdom merits attention in the United States and other countries.

Official endorsement of full employment as a proper end for governmental policy dates back to 1944. The much-quoted white paper on Em-

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ployment Policy was presented to Parliament by Lord Woolton, Minister of Reconstruction in the Churchill coalition, a few days before D-day. It began with the unequivocal statement: "The Government accept as one of their primary aims and responsibilities the maintenance of a high and stable level of employment after the war."[1] Shortly afterwards, at the conclusion of a three-day debate, the House of Commons passed a resolution moved by Laborite Ernest Bevin, then Minister of Labor and National Service, and supported on the side of the Conservatives by Sir John Anderson as Chancellor of the Exchequer: "That this House . . . welcomes the declaration of His Majesty's Government . . . ."[2] At no time later has this basic commitment been placed in doubt.

Acceptance of full employment in business circles might be illustrated by a number of authoritative pronouncements made in the middle of the war. These include a pamphlet entitled *The Problem of Unemployment*, issued by Lever Brothers and Unilever Limited at the beginning of 1943.[3] Here it was clearly argued that irregularity of capital investment was the principal cause of unemployment; that the profit motive had proved an insufficient guide in the extension of productive capacity; and that it was the task of government to regularize the incentive to investment by the use of indirect controls.

II

The economist who has done most to put full employment at the very center of British thinking is Lord Keynes. His *General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money*[4] almost ten years ago called attention to the neglect with which the theory of employment had theretofore been treated by the classical school. He provided economists, both in the civil service and in academic work, with a new frame of reference, and brought the "dismal science" into harmony with the social aspirations of the depression era. He demonstrated that full employment would result if the propensity to consume and the inducement to invest gave rise to a national outlay equal to the national income, with none of this income running to waste as savings that failed to materialize in actual capital investment. His teachings gave currency to the phrase "full employment" and were popularized by such able economists as Joan Robinson.[5]

[1] Great Britain, Ministry of Reconstruction, *Employment Policy*, Cmd. 6527 (London, 1944).

[2] House of Commons, *Parliamentary Debates*, June 23, 1944.

[3] London and Toronto, 1943. For similar considerations, see also Federation of British Industries, *Reconstruction* (London, 1942).

[4] London and New York, 1936.

[5] *Introduction to the Theory of Employment* (London and New York, 1937) and *Problem of Full Employment* (London, 1944). See also Oxford University Institute of Statistics, *Economics of Full Employment* (Oxford, 1944); Barbara Wootton, *Full*

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Under the influence of this new doctrine, Sir William Beveridge publicly recanted the economics of unemployment that he had preached in 1930. In writing his *Full Employment in a Free Society*,[6] he attempted to fashion a companion weapon to be used along with social security in his crusade against "want, squalor, disease, and ignorance." The white paper on Employment Policy, which has been fittingly described by a member of Parliament as "the promising offspring of a not unhappy marriage between permanent and temporary civil servants," marks the formal entry of the Keynesian economics of employment into the realm of practical politics. If political science be a science of ends and means—as its founders intended it to be—and not merely a sociology of power, then a great contribution is being made to political science by a number of present-day writers who call themselves economists.

Full employment implies the conquest of the business cycle; but of this conquest two different conceptions have arisen in the United Kingdom. One is that the expansion of the economy can be so firmly guided as to eliminate cyclical fluctuations entirely. This was apparently the view of Keynes in his *General Theory*, and it is certainly the view at which Beveridge arrived by the time he was completing his *Full Employment in a Free Society*.[7] British governmental officials, on the other hand, have given greater weight to the practical difficulty of exerting direction over private investment and the foreign balance; they have therefore assumed the continuation of business cycles, at least in a flattened-out form. The white paper on Employment Policy merely called for "anti-cyclical" action involving various forms of compensatory spending. "The Government are prepared to accept in future," says the white paper, "the responsibility for taking action at the earliest possible stage to arrest a threatened slump."[8]

Since American thinking is dominated by the anti-cyclical compensatory-spending approach, the point is worth making that this is not the only British approach. Beveridge, in fact, goes so far as to protest against the instabilities injected into public works and community expansion in the name of compensatory spending. He thinks the government would do better to carry its responsibility a long step further to prevent the slump instead of remedying it. General agreement that Britain ought to have a full-employment policy thus carries with it a noticeable disagreement as to the range of such a policy, and therefore as to the program that should be planned and the machinery that should be designed for its realization.

Employment (London, 1943); Group of Fabians, *Prevention of General Unemployment* (London, 1944).

[6] New York, 1944, especially p. 92.

[7] See especially Beveridge's Postscript criticizing Cmd. 6527.

[8] *Op. cit.*, par. 41.

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This difference in attitude toward the business cycle is reflected in a difference toward business itself. Those who hope to abolish the business cycle seem to demand a larger measure of public control than those who accept cyclical fluctuation as inevitable. Keynes, ten years ago, wrote plainly of the "socialization of saving" and "the euthanasia of the rentier." Beveridge has described his own policy as "primarily one of socializing demand rather than production"; he omits the right to private business enterprise from his list of essential liberties.[9] On the same path of thought, Joan Robinson has shown reason for doubting whether the business cycle can be eliminated without substituting socialism for capitalism.[10] The compensatory spenders, on the other hand, have tended to consider control of private investment and foreign purchases highly problematical. The white paper's emphasis on this difficulty has provoked Beveridge's criticism that such reluctance is "equivalent to treating British industry as if it were a sovereign independent state to be persuaded, influenced, appealed to, and bargained with, by the British state."[11]

III

By stressing the social value of spending, British advocates of a full-employment policy are reinforcing the tendency for governmental activities to expand in certain well-marked directions.[12] One direction is the extension of "social services," in the broad British sense of positive governmental action intended for the direct advancement of human welfare and the conservation and improvement of the nation's human resources. These are now seen as means to the promotion and stabilization of consumption outlay. When the social services are looked at in such a light, it becomes possible to think of them in three main groups.

The first is governmental stimulation of individual and family consumption by such income-transfer services as social insurance and children's allowances; they not only put a floor beneath consumption, but also "clothe needs with purchasing power" by transferring it from the more to the less fortunate. The second group aims at the promotion of collective consumption through easy access to free education, medical care, and recreation—making available for the benefit of everyone many services that would otherwise be consumed by the few. These community services increase consumption all the more effectively in so far as they are financed by the saving classes rather than the spending masses. The third group is suggested by a new advocacy of public procurement for private purchase as a means of stabilizing—and sometimes of subsidizing—prices and pro-

[9] *Op. cit.*, pp. 205 ff. and pp. 21 ff.

[10] Joan Robinson, *Future of Industry* (London, 1943), p. 15. [11] *Op. cit.*, p. 261.

[12] Described in W. Hardy Wickwar, *Social Services* (London, 1936), and *Public Services* (London, 1938).

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duction in the field of basic necessities such as food and fuel and shelter.

Another direction in which current tendencies are reinforced is the expansion of "public services," in the sense of positive governmental action aimed at high productivity and the development of the nation's material resources. This goal now becomes inseparable from the promotion and stabilization of investment outlay. Investment as such is being elevated to the rank of a public service of cardinal economic importance. Public control over all monopolistic undertakings, whether local or national in scope, has to be extended to their policies of capital investment; for such control presents itself as an aspect of a policy of full employment by regularization of outlay in general and capital outlay in particular.

It has to be noted finally that the rôle of government in determining the conditions of world trade and the extent of international economic interdependence is being reinterpreted in the light of the new social and economic objective of full employment. British publicists are particularly aware that a government doing everything within its sovereign power to conquer the business cycle would remain exposed to an international cycle generated by the failure of other governments to pursue the same policy with the same success. In today's British scale of values, fuller employment may easily seem more desirable than freer trade, and the latter may therefore be made conditional on the former. This is true even though it would mean making good international commercial relations dependent on the pursuit of a particular domestic policy, and even though it might make for regionalism rather than for world-wide multilateralism.[13]

IV

To a political scientist, the procedural tools and the organized human agents with which a government equips itself in order to do a job are at least as important as the job itself.[14]

The first need of any national government that aims at a high and stable level of employment is full knowledge of the factual context in which it will have to pursue its policy. In Great Britain, a Central Statistical Office has been built under the auspices of the war cabinet, and the white paper on Employment Policy has announced the intention of making it a permanent agency. It has at present a small professional staff of about a dozen statisticians and economists. Its outlook has been well illustrated by the periodic "Analysis of Sources of War Finance and Esti-

[13] See especially T. Balogh, "International Aspects of Full Employment," in Oxford University Institute of Statistics, *op. cit.* in note 5 above.

[14] The top controls were described by Clement Attlee in his answer to a question in the House of Commons, *Parliamentary Debates*, July 27, 1944. For an earlier description and analysis, see Herman Finer, "The British Cabinet, the House of Commons, and the War," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 56 (1941), pp. 321 ff.

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mates of the National Income and Expenditure," inaugurated in 1941.[15] In this annual "budget white paper," it has endeavored to broaden the scope of fiscal thinking, so that at least as much attention may be accorded to the income and outlay of the nation in general as to the revenue and the expenditure of the government in particular.

In so doing, the Central Statistical Office has been compelled to estimate the implications for the economy at large of the colossal increase in governmental expenditure that has occurred during the war. "But there is nothing in this method which limits its application to wartime," says the 1945 edition. "In peacetime, too, such an approach to any large change in expenditure, whether public or private, . . . is both possible and, in view of the government's employment policy, necessary. For . . . the problem of maintaining employment is very largely the problem of maintaining total expenditure, public and private; and in an economy where this is accepted as one of the prime aims of government policy, it becomes peculiarly important to have not only statistics adequate to measure that expenditure, but a method of bringing them together and of classifying them which makes possible the necessary comparisons with the immediate past and with the present position in other countries." Of course, the statistical series thus far available is not yet completely adequate for this purpose. However, steps have been taken to revive the census of production and to introduce a census of distribution. Moreover, it is probable that the Government will ask Parliament to grant new powers to compel such other returns as may be needed for anticipating changes in national outlay. Ernest Bevin, for example, has spoken of requiring returns to be made on advance orders, as a help in estimating future employment and spending.[16]

To interpret the facts made available through this channel and others, and to think out the implications of policies that might conceivably be adopted in the light of such data, the cabinet has also established an Economic Section; its core is a team of about a dozen economists. Some such group as this would presumably form part of the central staff that would prepare the ground for cabinet decisions on matters of employment policy. If the present close tie-in between the cabinet secretariat and the Treasury were to be maintained, it would be natural for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to become the chairman of a full-employment committee of the cabinet. This might help to open a way for transforming the budget into something broader than a collection of fiscal expedients.[17]

[15] Presented to Parliament as Cmd. 6261 (1941), 6347 (1942), 6438 (1943), 6520 (1944), and 6623 (1945). The budget white paper has grown from a three-penny pamphlet of 16 pages in 1941 to a shilling booklet of 56 pages in 1945.

[16] House of Commons, *Parliamentary Debates*, June 21, 1944.

[17] Sir John Anderson has given some hint of this; see *ibid.*, June 22, 1944. But see also Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

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At the same time, it must be recognized that it may be difficult to change British Treasury tradition and to substitute thinking in terms of national income and outlay for thinking in terms of government revenue and expenditure. The white paper on Employment Policy seems to play down the budget. For example, instead of proposing to modify consumption outlay by modification of the income tax, at least in the lower income brackets, it proposed to achieve a similar but more modest result by the extra-budgetary device of modification of social insurance contributions. And, although admitting the need for an occasional resort to deficit financing, the white paper added apologetically: " . . . to the extent that the policies proposed in this Paper affect the balancing of the Budget in a particular year, they certainly do not contemplate any departure from the principle that the Budget must be balanced over a longer period."[18] One possible clue to this tendency to minimize the rôle of the budget is perhaps to be found in Bevin's statement that the traditional balancing of the budget was necessary on account of Britain's world credit status.[19]

There is, however, the possibility of an alternative approach, and one that would commend itself to British common sense. The white paper spoke of two "complementary budgets—for total expenditure and for manpower." The manpower budget developed during the war by Bevin's Ministry of Labor and National Service has an obvious relevance to a policy of full employment, even though in peacetime it would have to speak in terms of "men will" rather than "men shall."

It would be natural for the Ministry of Labor to be instructed to submit a manpower budget to the cabinet, showing whether the country should expect a deficit or a surplus of manpower during the following year. An "appreciation" of the manpower budget could be submitted by the Economic Section of the cabinet and by the Treasury. Thus the cabinet would be in a position to know to what extent it should take steps to modify the demand for labor in order that the demand might equal the supply. In this perspective, the general picture of Britain's top controls appears as one of procedures and agencies that have developed during the war and may be expected to continue to operate during the transitional years to high postwar employment.

V

The eventual importance of these top controls should not obscure the continuing significance of additional substantive measures and of the machinery for effecting them. Foremost among these are "social service" measures having to do with the stabilizing of consumption outlay. In-

[18] *Op. cit.*, par. 77.
[19] *Loc. cit.* in note 16 above.

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come redistribution is nothing new in a Britain with more than thirty years' experience in social insurance and in progressive taxation. The ground-work has been peculiarly well laid, thanks partly to the British policy of paying flat-rate benefits of social insurance which can easily be transformed into subsistence minima, and partly also to tripartite financing of social insurance, which throws much of the burden on a comparatively progressive system of general taxation. The principle of minimum adequacy was not accepted by the Churchill coalition. Although the payments it proposed would have cost as much as those proposed in the Beveridge report, they would not have represented so big a transfer of purchasing power, owing to the government's decision to set the postwar price level 33 per cent above the prewar, in comparison with Beveridge's assumption of 25 per cent.[20]

The same applies to collective consumption through community services. Publicly-provided education has been expanding for seventy-five years; the latest Education Act, passed by the Churchill coalition, merely improved the educational service and lengthened the period of compulsory attendance. Medical care has been provided—if unevenly and still inadequately—for insured wage-earners, school children, and people with infectious illnesses. The Churchill coalition's white paper on Medical Care promised to expand this into an adequate, all-round, public medical service for all members of the family. Similarly, too, with collective purchase for private consumption. Addison's prewar agricultural-marketing boards practiced collective buying, though not always in the interest of the consumer. Housebuilding, both public and private, has been heavily subsidized. Municipalities have rented housing to working-class consumers at or below cost and furniture to newly-weds, have sold milk to school children, and have supplied spectacles and dentures to bombed-out citizens. Above all, two "buying ministries"—Food and Supply—have made bulk purchases of food and other necessities during the war, and have taken a loss whenever desirable in the interest of stable prices and therefore stable wages.

Of British progress in the regularization of investment outlay, it has not yet become possible to write with the same degree of confidence. It has proved comparatively easy to agree on the desirability of high-level employment, and there is substantial agreement also on the means by which a floor can be put beneath consumption expenditure. But the much more difficult problem of how to give stability to the expansion of productivity

[20] The Beveridge report on Social Security and Allied Services was reviewed in W. Hardy Wickwar, "Some Recent British White Papers," in this REVIEW, Vol. 37 (1943), pp. 314 ff. For a detailed comparison with the Churchill coalition's proposals, see J. S. Clarke, "The British Government and the Beveridge Report," *Social Service Review*, Vol. 19 (1945), pp. 171 ff.

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has not yet commanded anything like the same measure of general agreement. Nor has any consensus of opinion arisen on the proportion of the national income that ought to be spent on consumption and on investment, respectively, although this obviously has a considerable bearing on the extent to which full employment would be accompanied by high-level production.

Measures are being taken under a law enacted in 1945[21] to steer new investment away from London and to direct it to what used to be called "depressed" or "special"—now rechristened "development"—areas. However, such measures as the withholding of building permits in the London area and gentle persuasion to build in the development areas are of more importance to the location than to the timing of investment. Furthermore, the diversification of industry in what had previously been single-industry areas is more instrumental in lessening the frictions arising from unemployment in specific industries than in preventing unemployment in all industries at once. For an attack on general unemployment, one of the first necessities is to devise a means by which government can promote investment outlay whenever a cyclical depression threatens; and within the general field of anti-cyclical investment policy, the least that can be asked of government is that it take steps to bring its own organs and statutory instruments into line with its policy. For this purpose, it is generally agreed that the cabinet will have to ask Parliament for additional powers, in order that the investment programs of local authorities, government-owned corporations, public-utility undertakings, and railways may be synchronized with the government's estimate of proper timing.[22]

More novel machinery will be required for the long-term stabilizing of investment so that there may be some assurance of steadily expanding production and diminishing necessity for compensatory anti-cyclical measures. Such machinery may be especially needed in a Britain that does not want production per man-hour and the rate of increase of productivity to remain only about half as high as in the United States, nor could wish the vast investment required for housing to compete with the investment for more productive purposes.[23] To meet some of these needs, it has often been unofficially proposed, especially in Labor and Liberal circles, that budgetary inducements to invest shall be reinforced by the

[21] This act was based on Royal Commission on the Distribution of the Industrial Population (chairman, Sir M. Barlow), *Report*, Cmd. 6153 (London, 1940).

[22] See Bevin in House of Commons, *loc. cit.* in note 16 above.

[23] During the five years before the war, over 300,000 new houses were built each year, and there were about 1,000,000 men in the building industry in Great Britain. Postwar goals are usually set somewhat higher than this. For immediate postwar housing, see Minister of Reconstruction, *Housing*, Cmd. 6609 (London, 1945).

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erection of a "national investment board," to regulate the volume and direction of public and private investment, both negatively by granting or withholding licenses and positively by pledging the nation's credit on behalf of approved risks and perhaps even by emitting its own bonds.[24]

For the building of such a board, a few of the necessary materials are already available. So far as the more negative aspects of control are concerned, the policy adopted in 1932 of restricting access to the money market has since 1936 been implemented for a limited range of purposes by a Foreign Transactions (Advisory) Committee, known since 1939 as Capital Issues Committee, with control over all new capital issues and all large bank loans, both domestic and overseas.[25] On the more positive side, social insurance funds, managed by the National Debt Commissioners, have in Britain as elsewhere become a widening channel for financing public outlay. Some funds provided by the National Debt Commissioners have been invested in local-authority enterprises by a Public Works Loans Board.

Moreover, thanks to the centralization of British economic power, this governmental canalization of savings has found its counterpart in private business action. A Scottish bankers' committee, for example, arranged financing for hydro-electric developments in the Scottish highlands, and insurance companies and banks have recently set up a Finance Corporation for Industry, with extensive borrowing powers and a board of distinguished public servants. To be effective as machinery for both stimulating and checking capital outlay in the interest of full employment and high production, bodies such as these would have to act closely together as instruments of government policy for facilitating long-term expansion, stabilizing private business investment, and implementing social priorities.

VI

In the international field, Britain, like her allies, has committed herself to "the creation of conditions of stability and well-being" and the promotion of "higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of social and economic progress and development."[26] Organs are arising to implement this policy by coördinating the various United Nations' plans for stabilization of workers' purchasing power, prices and production of primary products, and investment.[27] Within the emerging framework, the

[24] See Beveridge, *op. cit.*, and Fabian Research Group, *Government and Industry* (London, 1944).

[25] See Chancellor of the Exchequer, *Capital Issues Control*, Cmd. 6645 (London, 1945).

[26] See Charter of the United Nations, Chap. IX (International Economic and Social Coöperation).

[27] See especially the resolutions of the International Labor Organization at its

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governments of the British Commonwealth and Empire are preparing to make at least a regional contribution to planned expansion,[28] partly through commitments to invest, and partly through long-term contracts between British buying agencies and overseas marketing agencies, both coöperative and governmental. If the failure of other governments permitted a recrudescence of the international business cycle, facilities for lend-leasing British products to countries momentarily unable to pay for them may find use in such forms as governmental export-credit insurance, unified marketing agencies such as British Overseas Cotton, and overdraft arrangements on the model of the latest clearing agreements.

If the successful pursuit of full employment and expanding production depends on the concentration of effective internal sovereignty and economic power in the national government, Britain appears well placed for pursuing such a policy. She has no "states rights" theory to obstruct the national government in its attempt to promote the collective consumption of goods and services or to stabilize investment outlay in all kinds of commerce and by all levels of government. Nor has she a written constitution that needs reinterpreting in the light of this new conception of the public interest. All the constitutional powers that are needed are already possessed by the British government. The absolute sovereignty of the Crown-in-Parliament may help to make full employment and expanding production less difficult of attainment for the people of the United Kingdom than for those of many other nations. It is worth noting that the cabinet system, combined with the wartime use of an all-party coalition, made it possible for Britain in 1944 officially to adopt the policy of a "high and stable level of employment"—without prior debate in Parliament, without statutory enactment, and without waiting to be again engulfed in a new tide of peacetime unemployment.

IV. PARTY GOVERNMENT AND EMPLOYMENT POLICY

E. E. SCHATTSCHNEIDER
Wesleyan University

I

The prediction that full employment will have a great political future is based on the fact that economic policies of this kind reach large segments of the public not previously accustomed to political action or only

Philadelphia Conference (1944), the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture at Hot Springs in 1943 (especially Resolution XXIV, "Achievement of an Economy of Abundance"), and the Monetary Conference at Bretton Woods (1944).

[28] *Op. cit.* in note 1 above, par. 4.

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recently made aware of the potentialities of politics. Only the war itself has served to remind these relatively non-political people as urgently of the new importance of the government to every one as they are likely to be reminded by the establishment of the principle that public authority and public resources ought to be used to promote or produce sixty million jobs. What people do about the government depends on what they think the government is able to do. Therefore, the idea that the government is now able to protect people against the most dreaded of the manifestations of economic instability is almost certain to have a great impact on the political behavior of millions of people, many of whom have never before been drawn into the orbit of politics.

Moreover, unless the millenium is here, it seems probable that a prolonged and disturbing controversy over employment policies is in the making. In fact, a major political conflict over these policies can probably be avoided only by the abandonment of the whole project, i.e., by conceding the argument that full employment is none of the business of the government. The friends of the new policies are, therefore, in the position of having to pray for stormy weather.

Finally, the political requirements of full employment are unprecedented. According to the prevailing opinion among thoughtful persons, the government is now faced with problems in the solution of which it dare not fail. For the successful execution of the complex and delicate policies by which it is hoped that a new depression may be avoided, political means must be found to bring about unaccustomed teamwork of Congress and the President and all agencies and branches of the government in order to integrate closely a great variety of public activities. For all of these reasons, the launching of a new program for high-level employment implies that the political system will be made to work in ways in which it has never worked before. The situation calls for a political plan, on the general theory that a good cause deserves a superior political strategy.

Americans are so accustomed to haphazard political procedures that it may be instructive to state broadly what political measures are needed to deal with the situation adequately. The first requirement is that a systematic effort be made to marshal decisive public support for the new policies. That is, political means ought to be found for the mobilization of an effective majority and the organization and implementation of the power of this majority over the government as a whole, including the power to keep control of the government steadily while policies are formulated and executed. This statement implies that the organized majority will be able to defend its policies against sabotage by organized minorities; it implies also that it will be possible to define the alternatives, conduct a responsible public discussion, and bring about a national decision; for these are the means by which majorities are created.

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In short, what is required is that an organized and systematic attempt be made to use political methods to produce an amplitude of power to do all that needs to be done. Power is emphasized because all plans and policies for the maintenance of high-level employment imply power; without the power to do something about it, planning is a mere form of wishful thinking. If all planning and all policies imply power, however, power in turn implies politics; for it is the business of politics to produce power.

II

Speaking broadly, there are two approaches to the political problems growing out of full-employment policies. It is relatively easy to form special organizations to mobilize the public behind the legislation and exert pressure on the government. Only a very small minority of the population would ordinarily be enlisted in these organizations. The special organizations, created for the occasion, may then attempt to make a noise like that of many millions. At no time would the managers of this campaign dream of taking over the government as a whole, to make certain that the policies are executed fully.

Aside from the fact that it is easy to start an agitation at this level, this method has little to recommend it. The first defect of pressure politics as a means of mobilizing support for postwar employment policies is that the masses of the population most directly interested in these policies (the natural political base of the movement for the legislation) have never been successfully reached by pressure-group organizations. It is easy to organize minorities as pressure groups; pressure politics is the politics of organized minorities. On the other hand, the politics of full employment is the politics of the organized majority, and must very likely be based largely on the votes of people who have never participated in politics at all. Moreover, while it is easy for the supporters of full-employment policies to set up pressure groups sponsoring the legislation, it is even easier for the opponents of the legislation to organize the minorities opposed to it. The conservative groups long opposed to social experiments of this sort have ready-made an array of organizations able to make a great display of strength before the congressional committees. Under these circumstances, the proponents of full-employment legislation are likely to be swamped by the opposition. Finally, in so far as the friends of the new policies rely on the services of public-spirited citizens to persuade Congress to enact the legislation, pressure tactics are self-defeating. The demands made on the generous people of the community who are willing to defend the interests of the unorganized masses for humane reasons or in the public interest are excessive and wasteful under a régime of pressure politics. That is to say, this overworked minority is expected to support a multitude of organizations working for a great variety of causes under circumstances that destroy its effectiveness.

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To rely on pressure politics to marshal support for full-employment policies is, therefore, to play the game under the circumstances least favorable to success. The successful management of the politics of full employment calls for a shift to a new game played under rules and circumstances more favorable to the cause. The political virtue of full employment as a public policy is that it invites the invention of another strategy.

There is still another defect of pressure politics as the chosen political instrument of the friends of full employment: full employment implies much more than the enactment of a simple statute; it implies the execution of a battery of policies involving the close coöperation of all agencies of the government. This entails *a general control over the government* which pressure groups are inherently unable and unfit to exercise. The reasoning of this paper is based upon the assumption that a régime of pressure politics is unsuited to the needs of the new legislation and that adequate political means for the execution of the policies in question can be found only in the use of the party system.

III

A reconsideration of the grand strategy of politics is necessary in this connection because neither the governmental structure nor the political system of the country is well adapted to handle the problems arising from a public undertaking to stabilize employment at a high level. The existing governmental structure—both the separation of powers and the federal system—is better suited to obstruction than to the making of rapid adjustments on a wide front. As it now operates, the system tends to give excessive recognition to local and special interests at the expense of the public interest. It is going to be difficult to work out policies of high-level employment in a disintegrated governmental structure driven by an amorphous mass of interested minorities under circumstances conducive to nervous prostration, although that is the traditional procedure. The central difficulty of the whole system—the difficulty which causes all other difficulties—is, however, the fact that the government characteristically suffers from a deficiency of the power to govern, and the source of this inadequacy is political. Behind the localism of congressmen, the irresponsible congressional leadership, the excesses of the pressure groups, and the perilous friction between Congress and the Chief Executive is a political weakness—the failure to bring about an effective organization of the majority.

A political solution of these problems is necessary because the confusion of counsels and the conflict of authorities in American government is so great that only the nation itself can resolve the contradictions that beset the government by an exercise of its ultimate power over all institutions.

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Under these circumstances, majority rule is not a pious hope, but a practical necessity. For a beneficent use of the great dogma of democratic government, the superiority of the major party over all other varieties of political organization is too obvious to require argument.

In view of the fact that the form of political organization most appropriate to the establishment of majority rule in a modern democracy is the major political party, this paper concerns itself primarily with party government and its relation to the formation of policy. The major party in a two-party system is typically and essentially a mobilizer of majorities for the purpose of taking general control of the government; it is the most potent form of democratic political organization available for our use.

The major party is the only political organization in American public life which is in a position to make a claim, upon any reasonable grounds whatsoever, that it can measure up to the requirements of modern public policy. There is, in fact, no near competitor. The party alone pretends to be interested in a general control of the government, and it alone might reasonably be held responsible for the general state of public policy. Of all the varieties of political organization, it alone submits its claims to the nation in a general election in which the stakes are a mandate from the people to govern the country.

It is the thesis of this paper that political solutions are necessary to the establishment of a comprehensive structure of postwar policy, and that we ought to welcome the opportunity to get a political decision on the main issues arising from these policies. Therefore, we ought to foster the processes and institutions by means of which political decisions are facilitated. What is required is the rationalization of the political means to convert the governmental system to suit the demands of public policy.

IV

Considering the requirements, one inevitably becomes acutely aware of the fact that existing parties fall short of the specifications drawn for them. The hiatus between what is and what ought to be is not as serious as it might seem, however, because the party is first of all a purposive organization. It is simply what people make it. If the parties have been used indifferently in the past, it is doubtless because the uses of the parties have not been well understood, and perhaps because the desire to use political means has not been strong. Political scientists cannot supply the motives that drive people to seek a political solution, but they can subject to destructive criticism political theories which have surrounded the subject with confusion, and can thus relieve people who may wish to go into politics of the stigma of committing an offense against public morals. The truth is that Americans have made a limited use of the parties, without discovering the logical implications of what they have

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done. For this reason, it may be said that one of the conditions prerequisite to the development of a system of party government is the creation of a theory of political action.

The American major party is able to win elections, but seems to be unable to follow through to realize upon its victory by establishing party government in Congress—even though it would seem to be more difficult to do the first than to do the second. This inconclusive political act creates a politics of frustration probably without parallel in modern government. It seems likely that the national party which first solves this problem, i.e., the party which first does what is implicit in its very existence, will make a profound impression on the country and have a long lease of power. The stakes are great—control of the most powerful government in the world for a generation. It can hardly be argued that motives for making the attempt to establish party government do not exist.

What are the prospects for the development of an effective party organization in the United States? Obstacles do not seem insurmountable. The older forms of party organization are largely the consequence of public neglect; the whole system is based on assumptions concerning public indifference to politics, as a consequence of which relatively slight exertions by low-grade political organizations are sufficient to control the local governments. Party government at the higher levels has been slightly fictitious. Traditionally, local party organizations based on patronage have appealed to voters on personal grounds, usually with little discussion of public affairs, and have generally controlled enough votes by these means to win elections in which popular participation has not been great.

It is now likely that assumptions concerning public indifference to politics have been upset by new public attitudes resulting from a great and continuing series of crises, and it may be assumed that an extended public debate of full-employment policies will give an added stimulus to the current tendency of the public mind. Under these circumstances, the incapacity of the party organizations to exploit effectively the public interest in public affairs is likely to prove fatal. As things are now, it seems probable that politicians interested primarily in patronage will be unable to endure the competition of political leaders able to supply the demand for an intelligent discussion of public business.

Traditional forms of local party organization are embarrassed for other reasons. A generation of administrative reform has dried up many sources of patronage and profit, while the impact of revolutionary new instrumentalities of mass impression, such as the radio, are only beginning to be realized in a business which has been markedly unprogressive. As a matter of fact, there is impressive evidence that the regular local party machines are no longer what they once were. In the 1944 campaign, for example, the local organizations of the Democratic party in many areas were

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in a condition of dissolution which threatened for a time to become a public scandal. As if this were not enough, these organizations suffered the indignity of having outside organizations do their work for them. Thus, the feature of the campaign was unquestionably a registration drive staged in many areas by CIO-PAC which produced sensational results in a number of states and had a perceptible influence on the outcome of the election.

What makes this development important is the fact that getting out the vote has historically been the one function for the performance of which the local party organization could claim to be indispensable; the monopoly of this function is an essential condition of the survival of the old local machines. It is symptomatic of the new political conditions that the local machines which reformers have so long tried to abolish are now beginning to be treated as if they were ineffective. The local bosses have shown a phenomenal capacity to survive attacks on their public morality; what they can endure less well is public impatience with their inability to deliver the goods on election day.

More important than these evidences of the disintegration of the old machines is the plain fact that the local bosses are unable to govern the country. The inability of the parties to exploit the incalculable advantages of party government in Congress is ruinous. In 1944, both major parties were handicapped disastrously by their congressional delegations; for this condition, the remedy is the establishment of party government in the legislative branch. Nothing, however, could be more revolutionary.

The control of the local party organizations over the presidency in the 1944 election was equally ineffective. Mr. Roosevelt found it unnecessary to exert himself greatly to get an unprecedented fourth-term nomination under circumstances that must have made it evident that no combination of party bosses could have blocked the nomination if they had wanted to do so. What has become of the power of the local bosses to make and break the presidential nominee?

V

Under the circumstances described in the foregoing pages, some consideration of the future of the American party system may not be inappropriate. Amid a multitude of plans for the postwar world, it is in order to suggest that there is a need for political planning, as distinguished from the more familiar types of planning. This is especially important in connection with the discussion of postwar employment policies, because the success of these policies is inextricably involved in the future of the party system. Concretely, what can be done to promote effective party government in the United States?

First, consideration ought to be given to the establishment of permanent party research organizations—anything at all in the way of a research

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staff would be an improvement. In a party organization which lives by exploiting public interest in public affairs, a research staff is an elementary necessity; it produces the stock in trade of the party, the data for the formation of policy and for public debate on policy. An intelligent exploitation of the enormous political potential of high-level employment policies requires the wide dissemination of great quantities of data concerning, for example, employment problems. If these policies are to become the focus about which politics is organized, the parties simply cannot afford to rely on non-party research and publicity to do the job. It is hard to see how a party can expect to stay in business if it does not promote the publication, or does not itself publish, a serious literature of politics, disregarding the trivial and journalistic publicity now issued by campaign headquarters.

It is symptomatic of the condition of the parties that election statistics and statistics concerning the registration of voters are in a remarkably confused condition; they are difficult to get or are altogether unavailable. The parties have, for example, never been sufficiently interested in the subject to persuade the United States Census Bureau to collect and publish the political statistics which are the basis of all party work, especially party work calculated to expand the electorate—a form of party activity which is likely to have an important effect on the future of public policy.

One aspect of the extreme localization of power in the party organization is the fact that knowledge of politics in the United States is extremely localized. Neither the parties nor the research foundations and private associations have created what might be described as a national clearing house of political information. The first step toward the establishment of a genuine national party system is, therefore, the organization of political research.

The simplest test of the effectiveness of local party organizations is their ability to get out the vote, since this is their most characteristic function. An impression of the effectiveness of these organizations can be gained, therefore, from the fact that the number of non-voters in every presidential election in modern times has probably been greater than the total vote polled by either of the major parties. Since the future of American politics, especially the politics of full employment, will very likely be determined by what is done about the thirty million or more people who did not vote in the 1944 election, the efficiency of party organizations in dealing with this problem is crucial. Politics is a competitive industry, and parties that are unable to get out the vote are extremely apt to be driven out of business. It is precisely for this reason that the registration drive conducted by PAC in 1944 has disturbed the regular party workers so greatly. Indeed, PAC organizers speak enthusiastically about a registration drive to bring out seventy-five million voters in the near future,

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a campaign which—if successful—would produce popular participation in politics on a scale that will swamp all existing party alignments.

Now is the time for an investigation of the factors which have discouraged popular participation in politics: the systems of registration, the adequacy of public arrangements for voting, the prevalence of restrictions on the franchise in the Solid South, the rôle of the archaic electoral college in retarding the expansion of the electorate, and so on. More than anything else, however, there is needed a study of the requirements for a party organization able to reach this huge reserve of potential voters. American politics is characterized by the fact that the raw materials of political power lie all about us, untouched and unused. This fact constitutes the strongest imaginable motive for party reorganization. Plans for the expansion of the practicing electorate are of special interest to students of postwar policies of full employment, because substantial popular backing of these policies can be found most surely in an enlarged electorate.

Traditionally, state and national party headquarters all but go out of business in the interim between elections, or they maintain a mere skeleton organization. As a consequence, national election campaigns consist largely of frantic efforts to accomplish in a few weeks' work what should have been done more thoroughly and effectively long before the campaign began. Thoughtful party workers are beginning to realize that the alternation between long periods of repose, on the one hand, and short periods of convulsive activity, on the other, is an ineffective way of doing business, and it is possible that party organizational and educational work will eventually be established on a permanent and continuing basis in response to this opinion. It is probable, however, that if the parties set up adequate permanent national organizations, continuously active, the center of gravity within the parties will move from the local machines to the national organization; another step will thus be taken to establish effective party government.

In connection with plans for the future of party organization, consideration might profitably be given to the recruitment and training of party workers, more especially to the possibility of recruiting party workers who are interested in public affairs *per se*, not in patronage exclusively. The local machines have not usually welcomed this type of worker into their organizations, preferring to restrict themselves to relatively small numbers of professionals and semi-professionals who are placed on the public payroll wherever possible. For this reason, very little effort has been made to exploit the interest of great numbers of partisans by enlisting them to do party work, with the result that the parties have suffered from an adverse selection of workers. To argue, however, that the interest of many influential partisans who have hitherto been inactive in politics is not organ-

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izable and cannot be exploited is preposterous. The parties ought to be able to do as well as numerous other private associations which have learned to get valuable services from volunteer workers who are not compensated for their labors. Here again the traditional party organizations in the United States have scarcely scratched the surface of the political potential of the nation. Obviously, some of the conditions exist for a great intensification of party politics.

Intelligent party managers undoubtedly can increase the effectiveness of their parties very greatly by making available to the public, and by publicizing adequately, the voting records of all members of Congress. This is probably the most simple and most direct way to enlist popular support for the idea of party government in Congress. The intolerable state of the parties in Congress is made possible by the fact that no adequate public discussion of the voting records of the individual congressmen has ever been organized; only a small minority of the people realize the extent to which party government in Congress has broken down.

VI

Illustrative of the difficulties resulting from the failure of the major parties to exploit party government in Congress is the tendency in recent years of a segment of Southern Democrats in Congress to form a coalition with the Republicans. From the viewpoint of full-employment legislation, this coalition is likely to be ruinous, because it is designed to defeat the policy altogether or to cripple it by the adoption of "states' rights" amendments and by cutting appropriations unreasonably. The coalition is disastrous also because it destroys party responsibility on both sides. The remedy for this condition is a continuing campaign of the national party leaders to force the issue. Certainly the Democratic leadership cannot afford to let itself be deluded into thinking that the nominal Democratic monopoly in the Solid South is an asset of great value to the party, for the Southern conservatives, by sabotaging the program of the party, have made a major contribution toward its defeat. As a matter of fact, the break-up of the Solid South would be one of the best things that could possibly happen to the Democratic party.

There are a number of reasons for thinking that efforts in this direction may be surprisingly productive. In the first place, the Democrats have not needed a single Southern electoral vote in any of the last four presidential elections. In the second place, the Southern Democratic party is now sharply divided into liberal and conservative wings, and the national party leaders can force a continuing series of showdown struggles on Southern conservatives—struggles which are certain to publicize the issue between the conservatives and the party. In the third place, it is the conservatives who have the greatest stake in maintaining the political system of

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the Solid South exactly as it is. They depend for their influence on control of a party organization which has a political monopoly, but their popular support is often negligible, and they could probably not endure real political competition. The last thing they want is the establishment of a two-party system in the South. It is unlikely that the conservative wing could survive an open break with the national party on the issue of full employment if the national leaders really started to do something about it and maintained a steady pressure on them.

The politics of high-level employment is simply modern politics, the politics of the formulation and execution of complex and delicate policies which profoundly concern the happiness and prosperity of every one; it is an aspect of the new position of government in American society. The solution of the general problem discussed here is inextricably involved in the future of party government.

V. ORGANIZING GOVERNMENT STAFF SERVICES FOR FULL EMPLOYMENT

JOHN J. CORSON
Director of Research, The Washington Post

I

Since the time of Adam Smith, we have more or less passively accepted the type of economy which tossed us from boom to depression and back again. The adoption by Congress of current proposals for "full employment" legislation would constitute a substantial divergence from this passive course. The representatives of the American people would declare, essentially, that they propose to do whatever is necessary to make the national economy provide employment for all men and women who wish to work. Acceptance of this policy implies simultaneous acceptance of the responsibility for devising plans for influencing the economy and creating governmental machinery for carrying them out. Hence, our purpose here is twofold: first, to suggest the tasks to be performed by the federal government in maintaining full employment; and second, to raise the foreseeable questions about the organizational arrangements within the federal government that may be required to accomplish this end. At the present stage in the evolution of the rôle of government in the maintenance of full employment, much that will be said must necessarily be speculative.

But political scientists have as much right—and obligation—to speculate as do economists. The economists have speculated effectively as to the pleasant state of affairs that will obtain when there are jobs for all who want to work. They have speculated fruitfully as to ways of achieving full employment. It is high time, now, that the political scientists con-

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tribute the results of their own speculation. What, for example, are to be the responsibilities of government in the "full-employment age"? How will government discharge these responsibilities? How will the federal government formulate an annual employment and production budget and the complex integrated network of national policies essential to the achievement of full employment? The political scientists may also be expected to consider how the collaboration between the federal, state, and local governments and each sector of private enterprise essential to this objective will be obtained. They, too, are obligated to evolve a prescription for the planned, harmonious administration of these integrated policies by a considerable number of agencies of the federal government. When they essay such speculation, they will conclude that the "Full Employment Act" focuses attention on the need for effective governmental staff services as no previous legislation has done.

At least six separate tasks for the federal government are involved in the attainment and maintenance of full employment. They are: (1) formulation annually of forecasts as to whether there will be sufficient expenditure by consumers, business, and government to provide full employment throughout the country; (2) recommendation by the executive branch of action necessary for the assurance of continuing full employment; (3) formation by the legislative branch of national policies contributing to the maintenance of full employment in the fields of taxation, fiscal affairs, agriculture, social security, industrial relations, wages, the development of natural resources, the maintenance of foreign trade, and public works and construction; (4) encouragement of the expansion and growth of private enterprise; (5) control of the direction of demand for labor, with a view to maximizing employment; and (6) organization of the labor market in order to minimize the persistence of unemployment in decadent centers and to maximize employment by effectively bringing idle workers and jobs together.

The performance of each of these tasks is as essential to the achievement of full employment as its legislative acceptance in terms of national policy. Let us, therefore, consider the nature of each task and the assignment of each responsibility to agencies within the legislative or executive branch.

II

An annual appraisal of the national economy is required to indicate what effort or programs will be needed for reaching or maintaining full employment.[1] This will be accomplished by estimating: (1) the size of the

[1] Specifically, the "Full Employment Act of 1945," as revised after hearings before the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, required in Section 3 (a): "The President shall transmit to Congress at the beginning of each regular session the National Production and Employment Budget (hereinafter referred to as the

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labor force that will be employed or seeking employment in the succeeding year; (2) the productivity of labor in terms of the expected price level; (3) with the results of (1) and (2), and with allowance for the probable pay of the armed forces, the gross national product or aggregate expenditures that will induce full employment; and (4) the probable aggregate expenditures of government, business, and consumers during the succeeding year, before taking into account the effect of any employment-creating efforts by the government. Finally, the fifth step consists in a comparison of the full-employment level of aggregate expenditures (3) with the prospective aggregate expenditures (4). If the latter total is less than the former—i.e., if (4) is less than (3)—then government policies must be adopted which will increase (4) to the level of (3).[2]

Statistics are available which permit adequate estimates of past and prospective expenditures of business and of state and local governments. There are, too, statistics upon which can be based estimates of past expenditures by consumers. These data are collected regularly by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Department of Agriculture, the Social Security Board, the Bureau of the Census, the Bureau of Internal Revenue, the Federal Reserve System, the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, and state tax commissions. There is a grievous lack, however, of reliable statistical data from which consumer expenditures can be projected in relation to various assumptions as to national income levels. This information could be built up; it is not now available.

From such data, federal departments and private agencies like the National Bureau of Economic Research and the National Industrial Conference Board have developed estimates of the national income and the national product. But each of the data-collecting agencies of the federal

National Budget), which shall set forth: (1) for the ensuing fiscal year, and such longer period as the President may deem appropriate, an estimate of the number of employment opportunities needed for full employment, the production of goods and services at full employment, and the volume of investment and expenditure needed for the purchase of such goods and services; (2) current and foreseeable trends in the number of employment opportunities, the production of goods and services, and the volume of investment and expenditure for the purchase of goods and services, not taking into account the effects of the general program provided for in paragraph 3 hereof; and (3) a general program, pursuant to section 2, for assuring continuing full employment, together with such recommendations for legislation as he may deem necessary or desirable. Such program shall include whatever measures he may deem necessary to prevent inflationary or deflationary dislocations or monopolistic practices from interfering with the assurance of continuing full employment."

[2] This summary statement of the type of appraisal required is based upon "The Problem of Estimating Future Expenditures by Consumers, Business, and State and Local Governments," a memorandum submitted by Harold D. Smith, Director of the Budget, in connection with his statement on the Full Employment Bill (S. 380) before the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, Aug. 30, 1945.

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government, and each of the others that have used the data, has been primarily concerned with its respective segment of the national economy. No agency has regularly assembled data for the purpose of appraising the prospective number of job opportunities.[3]

The question, hence, arises: Where should this function be performed? The proposed "Full Employment Act" assigned it to the President. But which department or agency should perform for the President the technical task of formulating annually a forecast of the economy and the employment opportunities it will yield? At least seven agencies assemble or analyze some of the requisite basic data. They include (1) the Department of Agriculture, whose far-flung activities in production, prices, marketing, and natural resources affect many parts of the economy; (2) the Department of Commerce, which has access to available information as to probable employment, investment, and production by private enterprise, conducts a monthly sample census of employment and unemployment, and should be able to advise as to the steps the government should take to stimulate private investment; (3) the Department of Labor, whose estimates of current employment and of job-seekers will contribute to the formulation of estimates of prospective employment opportunities; (4) the Treasury Department, whose information as to the impact of federal fiscal policies on the national economy is essential to the formulation of an employment-maintaining program; (5) the Federal Security Agency, which in its administration of the social insurances develops benchmark data as to employment and earnings; (6) the Bureau of the Budget, which now prepares the federal fiscal budget, is equipped to review the budgets and programs of the various departments and agencies, and is responsible for assisting the President in "the formulation of the fiscal program of the government";[4] and (7) the temporary Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion, which now serves as aide to the President in formulating postwar economic policies.

Whatever agency is assigned the comprehensive technical task of collating these data and formulating for the President a forecast of employ-

[3] Indeed, critics of the Full Employment Bill declare the preparation of such estimates impossible; e.g., E. P. Schmidt, *Can Government Guarantee Full Employment?*, Postwar Readjustments, Bulletin No. 13 (Washington, 1945), p. 24. This same viewpoint is expressed in an editorial in the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Aug. 22, 1945, p. 16, which states in part: "Only last May the War Manpower Commission's unemployment forecast for August 1 overshot the mark by 30 per cent. Yet the 'full employment, full government spending bill' now before a Senate committee, would require the President to estimate the number of available jobs as far as 18 months ahead."

[4] The responsibility for assisting the President in "the formulation of the fiscal program of the government" is specifically assigned to the Bureau of the Budget by Executive Order No. 8248 of Sept. 8, 1939. This differs somewhat from popular assumptions as to the responsibility of the Treasury Department.

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ment opportunities is necessarily exercising the rôle of top coördination. For this rôle, the Bureau of the Budget is the logical choice. The present machinery of the Bureau enables it to perform such a task. Its Fiscal Division offers "the nucleus of a planning staff"[5] which can readily assume the responsibility for compiling and appraising the necessary data. And the Bureau of the Budget has emerged during the past eight years from a narrow concern with federal expenditures to a rôle described as "the embodiment of the presidency"[6] in the administration of the federal government.

Assignment of this task to the Bureau of the Budget is not to brush aside the charge of institutional headlessness repeatedly made against the federal government. The Bureau of the Budget is the substance of what top coördinating staff there is available to the President. Under the direction of Harold D. Smith, the Bureau has grown in stature to meet the responsibilities which the absence of a real "general economic staff" for the President has placed upon it. It is adequate to undertake the technical task of devising the "national employment and production budget."

The national employment budget is to forecast the prospect for employment opportunities. Next, the President is to recommend a general program for insuring continuing full employment. Thus speculation turns upon the question: Which unit should collate the proposals of all departments and agencies and formulate the recommendations of the executive branch?

III

This task is immense. Acceptance of the commitment of full employment pledges the federal government to undertake whatever steps are required to maintain job opportunities for all men and women willing and able to work. The steps to be taken may include recommendations for legislation affecting taxation, social security, wages and working conditions, monopoly and competition, banking and currency, foreign trade and investment, control of industrial development, public works, or the organization of the labor market. Obviously, the formulation of such recommendations involves most executive agencies.

Action would logically be proposed in the first instance by the particular department or agency most directly concerned, e.g., recommendations about wages and working conditions by the Labor Department, recommendations about taxes by the Treasury Department. Then the separate proposals could be coördinated by the President's cabinet. Such consideration might take place under the Truman Administration; it would not have been likely under the Roosevelt Administration. In practice, the

[5] Arthur W. Macmahon, "The Future Organizational Pattern of the Executive Branch," in this REVIEW, Vol. 38 (1944), p. 1183.

[6] *Loc. cit.* in note 5, p. 1182.

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nearest approach that is made to consistent development of integrated recommendations for the President and his administration is undertaken by the Bureau of the Budget. Departments and agencies of the executive branch are now required to submit to that Bureau for review not only their annual budgets but all proposals intended for consideration by Congress.[7] This review aims to insure that legislation is not proposed by government agencies which is not "in accord with the President's program," or which gives rise to unnecessary differences between departments. The review is more often than not a negative function exercised as a means of preventing program conflicts and embarrassment to the President and his administration.

But is not the task of directing all government efforts to the end of achieving full employment a positive rather than a negative function? And does not analysis of the task again spotlight the absence within the federal government of a "general economic staff" to aid the President in coördinating national policies?

There are three alternative devices by which this staff service might be provided. The first is the creation of a "special commission on full employment" to formulate the legislative proposals for the President. Such a commission might be composed of representatives of business, labor, agriculture, state and local governments, as well as of federal agencies primarily concerned. Its sole function would be to review the national employment and production budget, developed by the Bureau of the Budget, and formulate legislative proposals for the President's consideration.[8] A second alternative would be the assignment of this additional responsibility to the Bureau of the Budget. Because of the absence of other top coördinating units within the federal government, the Bureau has already assumed similar policy-coördinating functions. Its Fiscal Division, as pointed out above, is equipped to undertake some portions of this task, and would be intimately familiar with the data assembled in the national budget upon which recommendations would be based. The third alternative is the establishment, in the Executive Office of the President, of an agency responsible for general economic and administrative planning. The nearest approach to such an agency at this time is the temporary Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion.

Earlier, the Employment Stabilization Board created in 1931 had been charged with some responsibility for reviewing, and advising the Presi-

[7] For a description of this activity of the Bureau of the Budget, see F. Morstein Marx, "The Bureau of the Budget: Its Evolution and Present Rôle," II, in this REVIEW, Vol. 39 (1945), pp. 880 ff.

[8] For further description of such a proposal, see "Summary of Testimony of Paul G. Hoffman before the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, Aug. 30, 1945," p. 9.

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dent with respect to, maintenance of employment. The National Resources Planning Board superseded this agency. Its activities encompassed the planning of federal activities wherever they affect the national economy. When Congress cut short its life, it eliminated the only agency of the federal government approximating the rôle of a "general economic staff." Now that function is divided, to the extent that it is performed, between the Bureau of the Budget and the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion.

Much might be said about the relative merits of the three alternatives.[9] I prefer the creation of a "commission on full employment." Upon initiation of a national policy of full employment, such a commission offers a greater prospect for the reconciliation of contrasting interests. It would bring together representatives of private enterprise and government, federal, state, and local. Its recommendations might receive more respectful attention by both Congress and the federal departments than the findings of any executive agency. It would be aided by all present staff agencies of the executive branch. After the policy of full employment has been accepted more widely and its administration established, the function of the commission might be assumed by a permanent planning agency within the Executive Office of the President. This permanent agency might logically develop from the secretariat of the commission. It could be expanded to serve as a "general economic staff" to the President, dealing with many matters other than the maintenance of full employment.

IV

After the President has recommended to Congress the policies formulated by his special staff agency—a commission equipped with a secretariat aided by the staff services now within the federal government—a like question arises in the legislative branch. What legislative group will consider the President's recommendations? They may deal with changes in existing legislation of various kinds—taxes, foreign trade, social security, agriculture, or appropriations. Today, Congress is organized in a number of long established (and jealous) committees. Each is responsible for particular areas of national policy. How, then, should Congress deal with a set of recommendations requiring a horizontal appraisal of existing policy in the light of the single objective of full employment?

[9] Much has already been written about the functions of the President's Executive Office and its organization. Most of this is pertinent to the determination of how the President shall be assisted in formulating a program for full employment. For example, see Arthur N. Holcombe, "Over-All Financial Planning Through the Bureau of the Budget," *Public Administration Review*, Vol. 1 (1941), pp. 225 ff. See also the group of papers making up a symposium on "The Executive Office of the President" by Louis Brownlow, Harold D. Smith, Charles E. Merriam, William H. McReynolds, Lowell Mellett, and Luther Gulick, *ibid.*, Vol. 1 (1941), pp. 101 ff.

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An earlier draft of the "Full Employment Act" proposed the creation of a joint committee to consider both the annual national budget and the recommendations presented by the President. The committee was to be composed of the chairmen of all of the major committees of the Senate and the House and additional members from either chamber. This arrangement, however, was subsequently changed to provide for a joint committee of fifteen members of the Senate and fifteen members of the House, without regard to their committee membership.[10]

The new provision creates machinery for the annual reorientation of legislative policies affecting the attainment of full employment. There are relatively few analogues which permit a consideration of its probable effectiveness. Yet a staff organization is provided for. A joint committee made up of representatives of the major congressional committees responsible for legislation might offer greater prospects of real legislative coördination. But the chairmen of these committees are among the busiest legislators with the least time for an assignment of such magnitude. Hence the proposal of a joint committee of members of both chambers offers a reasonable prospect that it can bring about such modification of national fiscal, agricultural, labor, and other policies as will be necessary to attain full employment.

V

If all national policies are reoriented so that they stimulate employment by creating non-federal investment and expenditure, the next task of encouraging the expansion of private enterprise will be substantially accomplished. There are numerous continuing activities of the federal government which aid private enterprise. For example, the Department of Commerce describes itself as "the service agency for business in government." In illustrating this rôle, it refers to (1) the volume of information bearing on management problems in production, sales, accounting, and finance which it makes available to business; (2) the statistical facts developed by its Bureau of the Census to aid business in framing production and marketing plans; and (3) the technical and scientific research of its Bureau of Standards. The Department of Agriculture performs similar activities for farmers and the production, distribution, and marketing of crops.

In the same way, the Securities and Exchange Commission, the Smaller War Plants Corporation, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the Maritime Commission, and the National Housing Agency assemble and disseminate basic factual information, administer subsidies, or lend capital to aid private business. The Department of Justice and the Federal Trade Commission stimulate private employment by their efforts to elimi-

[10] See sec. 5 of S. 380 as reported to the Senate by its Committee on Banking and Currency, Sept. 22, 1945.

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nate monopolistic practices. Other governmental activities might be listed. These examples illustrate the type of activity which has even greater utility if government has the positive objective of achieving full employment. When this objective is adopted, the task here suggested is the stock-taking of these activities and their redesign, where necessary, to attain the new objective.

Of particular importance among governmental activities encouraging private enterprise are those stabilizing the construction industry.[11] This industry has been a major factor in providing employment. Available estimates indicate that the construction industry must be stabilized at an annual level of approximately $15,000,000,000 if it is to provide the volume of jobs essential to full employment. All governmental activities which create a climate encouraging private enterprise will also stimulate the construction industry. In addition, however, it will be necessary to maintain continually a sympathetic and positive lending policy. The private construction of housing will be facilitated by a thorough reconsideration of local real estate tax and zoning policies and by whatever steps may serve to reduce the labor-cost factor in construction.

After all these steps are taken, there will remain a necessity for public works. We have a continuing need for schools, hospitals, roads, bridges, sewers, and the variety of facilities essential to the functioning of an industrial civilization. The federal government must integrate the efforts of local, state, and federal agencies into an orderly program, at least in point of timing, if the construction industry is to be stabilized. Such integration would insure that the separate efforts of the three levels of government do not produce a volume of construction that is unsustainable over a long period. Another responsibility of the federal government is the advance planning and timing of the construction work of all of its own agencies. These include the Federal Works Agency with its Bureau of Public Roads, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and others. A third responsibility is the planning of a positive program of resources development. It would be undertaken by such agencies as the Power Division of the Department of the Interior, the Federal Works Agency, the Army Engineers, and the Tennessee Valley Authority. In times of lessened private construction, their activities would provide compensatory public works.

VI

Sir William Beveridge has prescribed two additional tasks for the British government if it is to attain full employment.[12] The first is to control the location of industry. Such control, he indicates, would "deal with the

[11] See Seventh Report of the House Special Committee on Postwar Economic Policy and Planning, "Postwar Public Works and Construction" (1945).

[12] *Full Employment in a Free Society* (New York, 1944), p. 32 and pp. 166 ff.

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. . . evils of congestion, over-crowding, ill health, and bad housing"—in addition to eliminating that unemployment which results from the misdirection of demand for labor. For this purpose he would create a Ministry of National Development authorized to direct the location of new industries to areas where unemployment prevails and to prevent their location in sections where there is no surplus of labor. "It is better, and less of an interference with individual lives," Sir William wrote, "to control business men in the location of their enterprises than to leave them uncontrolled and require workpeople to move their homes for the sake of employment."[13]

American students of the problem generally agree that such governmental intervention is not necessary here. The United States, they reason, is a less mature country, with large opportunities for expansion and development. Hence, there is not the same necessity for directing the growth of private enterprise. The scope and variety of such opportunities was described in the National Resources Development Report for 1943.[14] The report lists public-works projects for seven major purposes, including flood control, irrigation and reclamation, rivers and harbors development, the construction of dams and power plants, and the building of roads, airports, and airways. This list convincingly demonstrates the wide range in the development of national resources in this country. Through such public works a better balanced physical development of the national economy and more stable employment could be fostered.

Yet there are some urban centers like New York and Detroit, and some sections such as the coal mining areas, that have been characterized by chronic unemployment. The local persistence of such unemployment indicates the need for diversified industry. It also necessitates qualification of the belief that no action is required to prevent unemployment resulting from the misdirection of demand. The cure may be suggested on the one hand by the TVA and such current proposals as the creation of a "Missouri Valley Authority," and on the other by the legislation designed to stimulate the expansion of industry and the setting-up of small business by veterans and others in the underdeveloped regions.[15] These proposals would substitute the positive development of deficient areas and undeveloped resources for governmental direction of industrial growth.

Acceptance of such a course implies that our natural resources must be developed according to some considered plan. This plan would simultaneously tend to maintain full employment. However, the federal government has no staff agency currently authorized or equipped to develop a

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 32.

[14] House of Representatives, Doc. No. 128, Part 2, 78th Cong., 1st Sess.

[15] For example, see H.R. 4068, a bill "to provide for aid in industrialization of under-developed areas and for other purposes."

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plan for resources development. Fourteen years ago, in 1931, the Federal Employment Stabilization Board was created to coördinate a succession of six-year plans for public works to aid in the prevention of unemployment.[16] The National Resources Planning Board inherited its functions on July 1, 1939. Congress, however, subsequently concluded that there was no need for this board, at least as then constituted. The abolition of the board in 1943 could imply that such planning will be done by the legislative branch itself. Yet the implication cannot be confirmed by a review of later congressional actions. In short, there is not now any agency of government which would plan and influence the planning of public works with a view both to achieving a balanced physical development and the maintenance of full employment.

VII

The second additional task prescribed by Sir William Beveridge is the mobilization of labor. By this he means "that if and when change is necessary, men and women shall be willing to change their occupations and their places of work, rather than cling to idleness." He suggests that to organize the mobility of labor it may be necessary to require employers to fill all jobs through use of the British employment exchanges. At least, he adds, the use of the employment exchanges should be compulsory in respect to all persons under eighteen, "so that the flow of adaptable youth into industries may be wisely directed."

Sir William's proposal must be viewed against the backdrop of a highly organized labor market in wartime Great Britain. The British adopted national service legislation at the very beginning of the war. From that time on, the entire labor force was carefully and thoroughly mobilized through the employment exchanges. In contrast, when faced with the exigencies of war, the American people, though making many unprecedented adaptations of their way of life, were never willing to enact similar legislation. The federal government, through indirect means and without legislative sanction, effectively organized the labor market. It is doubtful whether the administration of national service legislation would have abridged the freedom of individual workers to a greater degree than by "voluntary" methods. Yet the public psychology persistently and resolutely refused to accept the concept of national service. It is therefore extremely improbable that the American people, relieved of the urgencies of war, will now accept for other ends the compulsory organization of the labor market which Sir William recommends for his country.

What then are the alternative solutions for the basic problem of bringing idle workers and unfilled jobs together as industries rise and decline

[16] See *History of the Employment Stabilization Act of 1931*, a report to the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, July 30, 1945, 79th Cong., 1st Sess., Committee Print No. 3.

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within the national economy? Indeed, what is meant by full employment? The continual employment of at least 95 to 97 per cent of the total labor force? Limitation of total unemployment to a maximum of 2,500,000 to 3,000,000 will require the reduction of (1) reserves of labor maintained by seasonal industries and industries customarily served by casual labor; (2) "pockets of unemployment" in decadent urban centers and industrial areas beset by technological obsolescence; and (3) the number of unemployed marginal workers—the physically handicapped, over-age, unskilled, and mentally limited workers. Keeping these groups to a minimum of 3,000,000 will require far more effective governmental administration of the facilities which serve to bring workers and jobs together than has been attained in the past.

The United States Employment Service is now but a shell of the type of organization required to perform the government's task to maintain full employment. It has, at the most, ineffective influence over the placement of agricultural and railroad workers. The placement of veterans is now dealt with as a separate activity unrelated to the balance of the total labor force. Leadership in labor placement is handicapped by persisting strife between the federal government and the states. Yet through the Employment Service these functions must be discharged in the interest of full employment: (1) continual dissemination of full and current information as to the availability of job opportunities by area and by industry and the relation of these data to equally accurate and full data on the supply of labor; (2) further development of occupational information and personnel techniques to facilitate the hiring and placement of individual workers to their best advantage; and (3) assisting physically handicapped over-age, unskilled, and other marginal workers to get into jobs through the provision of vocational guidance, training opportunities, job information, and job analyses which facilitate the use of such workers by employers. The effective performance of these functions alone would not suffice to keep the number of unemployed to a minimum. But without the resourceful administration of each function the approximation of full employment is practically impossible.

VIII

No more than speculation is now possible about the administrative tasks essential to the attainment of full employment. Discussion of the objective has not gone far enough to determine how *full* employment we really seek and what means we, as a people, are willing to use to secure jobs for all. But even speculation about the nature of the administrative tasks and the governmental machinery required for their performance invites two major conclusions. The first is that the achievement of full employment will necessitate the extension of positive governmental action

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in several fields[17]—particularly in the field of planning for the national economy. The second is that the federal government thus far lacks an organizational unit capable of mobilizing all government resources and efforts to the achievement of an accepted end. The adoption of a policy of full employment requires the integration of all national policies and governmental efforts. This requirement spotlights the urgent need for more effective organization of our federal government to cope with a complex, interdependent national economy.

VI. PRIVATE ENTERPRISE AND FULL EMPLOYMENT

RALPH E. FLANDERS
President, Federal Reserve Bank of Boston

I

In this country, we are in general agreement that high-level production and employment should be sought for in the framework of a private-enterprise economy. This is specifically acknowledged in the "Full Employment Act" now before Congress, which said in its earliest version under Sec. 2(a): "It is the policy of the United States to foster free competitive enterprise and the investment of private capital in trade and commerce and in the development of the natural resources of the United States." Declarations to a similar effect are to be found in other parts of the bill.

At the present writing, the bill is not yet law, and in what form it may emerge for final vote, if it does emerge, is not clear. There will doubtless be a considerable number of changes, some of them important, but it is not probable that major dependence will be asserted on anything except private enterprise. This position is not merely that reflected in the pending legislation. It accords also with the belief and practice of an overwhelming majority of the people of the country, as is evidenced by political action and by popular polls. Thus we face no practical necessity for defending private enterprise as compared with other forms of economic and political organization.

What composes this "private enterprise" on which the American people place the major responsibility for a high level of production and em-

[17] Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 36, says: "Full employment cannot be won and held without a great extension of the responsibilities and powers of the State exercised through organs of the central government." Virgil Jordan, president of the National Industrial Conference Board, more colorfully—and less objectively—expanded this view in an address before the St. Louis Chapter of the Controller Institute of America, May 31, 1945, as follows: "For us the plain fact is that the political accessories of full employment cannot be attached to the American chassis without a complete alteration of its fundamental design."

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ployment? Private enterprise includes manufacturing, but the responsibility does not lie with manufacturing alone. This is obvious, but it seems necessary to state it, in view of the fact that many seem tacitly to assume that the major responsibility falls to manufacturers. At the beginning of 1941, manufacturing occupied only about one-fourth of the total number of those gainfully employed. At the peak of our wartime production, with many non-essential service industries shut down, the percentage engaged in manufacturing was still only about thirty per cent. The best estimates for high-level postwar employment do not depart far from these figures.

To give a clearer picture of the prewar distribution in the various employment categories, and also of an estimated postwar distribution, the following table will be useful:

	1940 (*per cent*)	*194x* (*Postwar*) (*per cent*)
Agriculture	20.7	18.4
Government	3.1	8.6
Manufacturing	23.3	25.1
Commerce	52.9	47.9
	100.0	100.0

For purposes of this table, agriculture includes forestry, fishing, and mining; government includes federal, state, and local; manufacturing is defined as in the census; commerce includes all the categories of trade, construction, transportation, utilities, finance, and services. The postwar figures are, of course, simply estimates, made by competent statisticians, not by inspired prophets. Various such estimates have been made, the ones used here being those arrived at by Mr. C. A. Sienkiewicz, of the Philadelphia Federal Reserve Bank.

The decrease in agriculture is presumably predicated on the expected expansion in the use of recently developed farm machinery which will carry mechanized farming into smaller farm units than has been the case in the past. It should, therefore, be logically expected that our wartime experience of higher farm production with fewer men working on farms will be continued into the future as a result of mechanization. In any event, it is desirable and possible that the farm population should show a percentage decrease, particularly in the raising of food products, since the increased standard of living we are looking for in the postwar world will tend to find expression in the volume of non-agricultural goods and services rather than in any great increase in foodstuffs consumed. Such effect as the higher standard may have on foodstuffs will be in the direction of a larger percentage of fruits, vegetables, and meats than of cereals, potatoes, and other staples. But percentage-wise the effect will probably

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be small. While agriculture is a form of private enterprise, we are focusing our attention primarily on non-agricultural industry.

The table assumes a total governmental employment of almost two and one-half times the prewar figure. This is realistically high. It may be, and should be, reduced somewhat, if possible, though the omens are hardly favorable. Manufacturing calls for a small percentage increase, assuming a large expansion of consumer purchase of durable and non-durable goods. The output per capita will be greater than this increase shows, since it is to be expected that our general increase in output per labor hour will be resumed in the postwar period.

There may be some question with regard to the decrease indicated in the categories which are lumped under commerce. Services have tended to expand as compared with the production and distribution of goods, which are perhaps reaching their peak. In any event, we are here concerned with the employment responsibility of manufacturing and commerce. In 1940, these two areas of private enterprise occupied 76.2 per cent of those gainfully employed; the *194x* estimate is set at the comparable figure of 73 per cent. To it should be added the forestry, fishing, and mining components of agriculture, which in our figures are not segregated.

II

We are interested in the characteristics of private enterprise, as well as its composition. One of its outstanding characteristics is that of sustained growth, which is favorable. This growth has, however, a highly unfavorable feature—that of irregularity. Total employment and production tend strongly upward over the decades, but with severe fluctuations that give us serious concern.

It must be said that a certain degree of wastefulness is also characteristic of private enterprise. This is due to the fact that private enterprise operates as a profit and loss system, instead of simply as a profit system, which is the popular assumption. Private enterprise proceeds by a process of trial and error. Enterprise continuously and, under healthy conditions, actively seeks new opportunities for profit. Since business judgment is by no means infallible, a considerable number of new undertakings are unsuccessful and result in loss. The percentage of failure is very high in some undertakings, such as retail trade, and much lower in others, such as the heavy industries in general. The same elements of profit and loss occur in larger individual organizations which show an over-all profit. These are usually concerned with a large number of ventures, some of which show a profit and are expanded while others show a loss and are abandoned. Since, however, the end-result is an over-all profit, the losses do not appear as failures or liquidations, but only—and not always—as "write-offs" in the general company accounts. One of the results of the existence

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of waste is a necessity for some degree of continuous shifting of labor from unprofitable ventures to profitable ones. This goes on continuously, though on a much larger scale at some times than at others.

It should be observed that waste is likewise a characteristic of public enterprise, whether in the area which we are accustomed to regard as proper government activity or in the operations of state socialism, in which the government may occupy any part or the whole realm of the national economy. Some of the waste is of the same sort as occurs under private initiative—that is, the putting of labor and capital into unsuccessful operations. The larger and more visible element of waste, however, lies in expansion of unproductive employment which goes with governmental activity. Red tape, the multiplication of forms and reports, and an elaborate hierarchy of administration have hitherto been inseparable from governmental operation. This condition has often been noted in comparing Russian and American industry.

Furthermore, such waste in governmental activity requires a corresponding wastefulness wherever government touches industry. During recent years, the various price and production controls, renegotiation, contract changes, and similar factors have been a serious burden which business men have borne to the best of their ability as an unavoidable incident of war production. It is essential that this load be raised particularly from the shoulders of small business, at the earliest possible moment and to the fullest possible extent. The governmentally-induced waste in private enterprise is in many instances too much for small business to endure.

A favorable corollary to the waste inherent in our profit and loss system is that private enterprise works on what is essentially a democratic basis. The business of the country seeks the consumers' votes. The consumers cast their ballots, not on a piece of paper in a ballot box, but in dollars over the counter. It is the consumers who ultimately determine the success or failure of a given product and the profit or loss of the business concern engaged in its production and marketing. Even the expensive selling campaigns by advertising of different sorts have their counterpart in the heavy cost of political campaigns. The only point at which the parallel fails is in the fact that more people have dollar votes than ballot votes. On the other hand, some people have very few and some very many monetary ballots. A distribution of these voting rights on the basis of the services rendered by the voter to society or, in the case of the unfortunate, on the basis of their fundamental necessities, is the ideal toward which our apportionment of economic votes should be directed.

III

As has been noted, an unhappy characteristic of our private enterprise is that it supports employment and production in a very unstable way.

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The instability springs in part from internal sources. At times, we get started on an inventory spree with the expectation that certain raw materials will become scarce and rise in price. This has led to overstocking and, in turn, to severe commodity speculation. The outcome has been an insupportable credit structure and subsequent collapse, carrying productive business and employment down with it.

At other times, we have had speculative sprees in real estate and, more tragically, in securities. Means of control for these internal instabilities must be sought and applied, as will be suggested later. But in the meantime the business community needs to adjust its ideals to a recognition of the distinction between profits derived from production and distribution on the one hand and those to be gained from the expectation of prospective and perhaps imaginary or impossible returns on the other. This is not to say that the endeavor to realize present profit by holding forth the hope of future profit is always wrong. However, it is a dangerous process, and its economic and social values are under suspicion except where they are clearly constructive.

Perhaps it is unfair to productive business to speak of these speculative sprees as "internal" business phenomena. They do occur in the business structure. But the business man is, after all, exercising other faculties and instincts than those called for in his ordinary operations when he goes into speculative undertakings on a large scale. It should be possible to make a distinction between business risk and speculation. Risk is an integral part of business; it involves taking a measured chance, on which best available judgment has been favorably passed. Speculation in the sense here used, on the other hand, is the endeavor to persuade some one outside the sphere of normal business opportunities to take himself the chance—good, bad or indifferent—of future gain at a present profit to the speculator. It is difficult to define speculation in such a way as to exclude the useful and necessary services of the investment banker. Perhaps about all that can be said is that our definition can be applied to innumerable undertakings where it can be plainly seen that transactions are definitely antisocial.

A further main element of instability within the field of private business is the varying rate of capital investment. When business prospects are good and optimism is in the saddle, enterprises of great pith and moment are put in action by small and large business alike. New equipment is bought, factories are enlarged, and the mere expansion of operations calls for increased inventories of raw materials and work in process for manufacturers and of goods for sale on the shelves of wholesalers and retailers. With the first chill breath of approaching liquidation, the purchase of goods slows up and inventories are run off. With regard to plans for expansion of facilities, its currents turn awry and lose the name of action.

The concentration of expansion in times of optimism and the quick

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contraction in periods of pessimism both accelerate the boom at one moment and make certain the resulting depression in the next. The cumulative effect of these shifts governs and intensifies the variations in the whole economy, which without this intensification might have returned to a practicable balance.

It is widely thought that lowered interest rates could be used as a balancing factor when enthusiasm for expansion wanes. Experience shows that this has only a minor effect, except in certain undertakings that are closely figured and in businesses that have a more or less seasoned record in the public-security markets. Electrical utilities, perhaps, come in this category. But the amount of investment responsive to interest rates is too small a part of the total to make the remedy effective on a national scale. The influence of business opinion as to future profit is the preponderant factor.

IV

It has been difficult for the proponents of large-scale federal action to understand the sensitiveness of business enterprise to many legislative proposals. Proposals which on their face ought to be favorable to business expansion arouse fears in the minds of business men, large and small, and the effects are contrary to those expected. An important lesson to be drawn from this fact is the necessity for mutual confidence between government and business. Such confidence must be based on understanding. It must lead to shifts in viewpoint both on the side of the federal government and on that of the business world. The needed change can come only as a slow growth constantly approaching full understanding and coöperation. It cannot be improvised. It will most certainly be upset by putting into action new and brilliant ideas which from time to time occur to those in authority or with access to the ear of authority.

Aside from such unsettling influences, it is true that even the ultimate consumer makes his contribution to instability. So long as he has a reasonably good income, his expenditures for the necessities of food, clothing, and shelter do not vary very much. The disruptive effect comes in the range of purchases which may be put off for a longer or shorter time. Although it may also show to some extent in the purchase of semi-durable goods like clothing, it is most clearly visible in the consumer's decision to buy or not to buy durable consumer goods, whether for cash or on the installment plan. Such goods—radios, washing machines, automobiles, vacuum cleaners, and the like—are an integral part of the American way of life, but their purchase does not become necessary at any given moment. In fact, purchases are largely concentrated in periods of good earning and optimism; they shrink to a trickle in hard times. Durable consumer goods thus play the same part as do durable producer goods or capital investment in inventory, buildings, equipment, and other facilities. Their fluctuations are uncontrolled and from time to time become catastrophic.

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All of these disturbing influences in the business cycle finally find expression in the area of money and credit. In periods of expansion, increased production and distribution have been financed largely with the support of bank credit. The contraction of bank credit when doubt creeps in involves the calling of loans, including those based on various types of collateral. Contraction in business volume offsets the credit of previously good borrowers, and more definitely and obviously the market value of collateral. The resulting dumping of collateral adds momentum to the process, and the entire credit structure begins to disintegrate.

The whole picture, viewed in the light of the past, would seem to indicate that private enterprise as it becomes more and more productive, ministering in a higher and higher degree to a scale of living which provides benefits far beyond the mere level of subsistence, becomes in equal measure more and more unstable. This poses a major problem for our economy of high living standards.

V

Besides these integral hindrances to business, its productivity is affected by outside influences. In particular, we shall be seriously handicapped in the postwar period by the high taxes made necessary by the war, apart from being subject to the continued restraint exerted by the fiscal policies of the immediate prewar period. These taxes prevent the old way by which American industry showed its vitality—establishment of new small companies, and promotion of their growth by plowing back earnings so that they became middle-sized and large employers of labor and producers of goods and services. The taxes likewise take so large a part of the investor's income that he is doubly deterred from contributing to venture capital by the small return left him after taxes and the greater risk of a new undertaking.[1] Our postwar tax system must be revised to make venture attractive to the investor as compared with investment in seasoned securities. It must likewise again permit the growth of new and smaller

[1] This point is little understood by most people. We read in the papers that some one has an income of $50,000 or $100,000 or $200,000 a year. Surely such a man can afford to take a flyer in a new undertaking! But let us look at the hard facts. If the income is net income (that is to say, after all allowable deductions have been made), under rates applicable to interest and dividends on 1944 income the federal government will leave of the $50,000 only about $20,000 after taxes, of the $100,000 only $30,000, and of the $200,000 only $37,000. This leaves far less to spend or invest than most of us realize.

But there is worse and more of it coming. These three men will invest with the expectation of making additional income. But they are in the upper income brackets, and additional income is taxed accordingly. The federal government will take 78 per cent of the increased dividends from the $50,000 man, 92 per cent from the $100,000 man, and 94 per cent from the $200,000 man. This leaves too little to be justifiable for a risky, new venture. Even though it should return 10 per cent, the investment would net but 2 per cent, ½ per cent, and ⅜ per cent, respectively. The richer the investor, the more foolish is it for him to invest except in old, tried, gilt-edged securities!

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undertakings out of earnings. Unless we can do this, our economy will be frozen into the pattern of large existing corporations, which would stifle vital growth.

Taxation also has its serious effects on the flow of money itself. It is true that we owe the national debt to ourselves and that interest payments and redemption of bonds to individual and corporate holders do not withdraw these funds from the money stream. Yet they do divert it in ways not favorable to the flow of goods and commodities. Furthermore, when bonds in the hands of banks are redeemed, there is a definite reduction in the money volume; this might be made up by a corresponding increase in money velocity—a phenomenon to which too little attention has been given. Taken all in all, it will require an exercise of the best wisdom and experience we have at our command to erect a postwar tax system that will permit both expanding employment and production on the one hand and budget-balancing and debt retirement on the other.

Another set of external hindrances stems from organized labor. Most business men feel that the balance has been tipped the other way compared with the former situation. If there ever was a time in which the employer, by his ability to give or refuse jobs, held the whip hand, that time has passed. As he sees it, the situation now is reversed in favor of organized labor, whether for good or ill. I do not report this situation as a demonstrable fact. I merely report the sentiment.

There is no question, however, that it is going to take statesmanship in labor relations by both parties to get the maximum of production, employment, and consumption out of our economy. Examples can be found in the building trades, which have traditionally based their hourly earnings on the assumption of part-time employment. The result has been that good homes cost so much that those who built them could not afford to live in them. Of course, the union aspect is not the only thing involved. A complex structure of controls over building material, of business practices, of local building laws, and of union regulation will have to be dissolved if reasonably full employment in this area is to be obtained.

There is one way out which will be unsatisfactory to the members of the building trades—the expansion of prefabricated housing with factory-built plumbing, heating, and refrigerating equipment. Another way out is adoption of such practices as will stabilize our productive machine in general, giving a good foundation for more steady employment in the building trades and adding special arrangements that may be feasible for stabilizing the construction industry. With reasonable wages based on steady work, construction costs would come down to a point where those in the building trades need fear no disastrous effect from factory-built competition.

An obvious impediment to high-level production and employment which falls in the field of labor practices derives from jurisdictional or

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quick and trivial strikes. These tie up large bodies of workers not concerned with the particular dispute. Such strikes occur too often to be considered lightly. But even in the normal and legitimate negotiations between employer and employee we may run into real difficulties. It seems clear that unless some restraint is placed on the process, mutual agreement between the parties concerned would not save us from unreasonable new wage levels. Rising costs will affect prices and leave the average citizen with no net gain in his economic position, and with a net loss if he is in the salaried class, not to mention the loss to all in the exchange value of their war bonds, insurance, and other savings.

Study of the distribution of income in this country shows how little juice there is in the higher income brackets if it were all available for redistribution in the low-income area. The real chance for improving the living of the low-income groups lies in expansion of the production of wealth, rather than in its redistribution. Labor statesmanship must, of necessity, take this situation into account. As in the relations between government and private business, the main thing is to build up an atmosphere of mutual comprehension and farsighted self-interest between employers and employees. Anything short of such a goal will harm both groups and put a brake on employment and production. Only on expanded employment and production can we depend for improved living standards.

VI

I have presented a long list of problems facing private enterprise. Some of them arise from the operations of government, some from labor relations, some from consumer behavior, and others within business itself. What remedies can be applied to these disturbances? General suggestions have been made as to the necessity for mutual understanding and confidence between business and government and between business and labor. More specific suggestions on other aspects are in order.

Government, negatively, has the duty of preventing monopolistic practices of business which hold back employment and production. It has to act with firmness and wisdom rather than by brilliant and spectacular movements. It must distinguish between mere size of economic structures and restrictive monopoly. The federal government also has an immediate duty to find the best practicable answer to the tax question. Taxation must be fiscally adequate, but the burden must be so placed as to permit a maximum expansion of employment and production. The recent policy report on taxation issued by the Committee for Economic Development contains important suggestions. A proper tax structure will withdraw funds from the purchasing stream as we approach inflation and lessen the tax burden when times are poor, instead of doing the opposite, as has been the case in years past. It may even be adjusted positively to this effect, rather than work through automatic provisions.

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Unemployment insurance should be expanded to cover all employed persons to the extent administratively possible. It should be available to wage-earners and business men alike, so as to steady the volume of consumer purchases. The financing of social security should be handled in such a way that it does not intensify inflation or deflation. Credit control is another basic factor. The regulation under which the Federal Reserve System has limited the use of consumer credit during wartime has useful possibilities for peacetime application. It could put the brakes on credit expansion during booms and encourage the purchase of durable goods as business falls off.

Perhaps as important as anything is a coördinated governmental statistical service such as is called for in the pending "Full Employment Act," yet not so narrowly applied. With high production and employment as the major economic purpose of our government, it is fitting that the flow of all available and useful statistical information should be organized and channeled to this one end. It would be bold to make predictions from such information about the requirements eighteen months or even six months ahead, but such data can be used fruitfully for current administration of governmental and business policies.

The single factor of control incorporated in the "Full Employment Act" is the provision of governmental expenditure and employment to fill up the deficit in private expenditure and employment. This becomes practicable only if other measures such as I have listed reduce the problem to manageable size. With such reduction, a proper spacing of deferrable governmental expenditures—whether federal, state, or local—to meet periods of decreasing employment can have a useful effect on the maintenance of work opportunities. The "Full Employment Act" by itself only touches a fraction of the problem. It will be ineffective, and even dangerous, without the simultaneous use of other policies on the part of all those contributing to high-level employment. It does stand as a landmark in our history. It marks the point in time at which full employment and production are designated consciously and purposefully as the major economic objective of our federal government.

VII

Let us return to the part that business itself has to play. Mention has been made of the necessary distinction between monopoly and size of enterprise so far as prosecution by the Department of Justice is concerned. Business has, in fact, a public duty to grow in size. It has a duty to expand its employment and its production. The nice, tight little business concern which seeks to avoid the problems of expansion in favor of a life of ease for its administrators is not doing its duty.

A counterbalance to this responsibility for growth in size is the duty, enforceable by legal action, not to enter into combinations for restriction of output and employment. In practice, such combinations would be undertaken with the expectation of gaining profits from maintaining

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prices rather than expanding volume. This is definitely against the principle of achieving and maintaining high employment. Prices of products must, of course, be set low enough to obtain a maximum of return by volume production. This means that each company will work up toward the safe limit of its capital resources and managerial ability. The safe limit, in turn, means that the company does not over-expand its credit, but makes provision in its cost and price levels for judicious expansion of employment and production.

It is important that the public recognize more generally the necessity for profit in business operations. The standard here set for business in fulfilling its social functions requires a considerable degree of profit if these functions are to be performed. The unprofitable company is the one whose employment and production decrease. The profitable company can expand employment and production and still pay the stockholders a reasonable return on funds which remain invested instead of being paid out.

Profit and the expectation of profit are the great organizing forces for private enterprise. They perform innumerable functions by the simple process of rewarding those who are successful in meeting public needs and wants, and of throwing into bankruptcy or liquidation those who are unsuccessful. They govern the thousands of business operations which go into the making of a single product, on the whole, in such a way as to bring everything together smoothly and meet with reasonable efficiency the customer's needs and tastes. How efficiently profit and the expectation of profit worked, few of us realized until the necessities of war production required a considerable part of our industries to function by governmental edict, as a substitute for the operations of the market.

In short, the profit system is a marvelous labor-saving and organizing device. It does not work with complete justice and efficiency. We have noted the tendencies toward extremes in operation. On the whole, however, we have no system ready to take its place. State socialism in Russia has yet to demonstrate that it can provide full employment on anything except a lower standard of living. We await the further results of Russia's experiment with great interest. The only American alternative to the private profit system is the coöperative movement. It will grow only as fast as man's character improves to the point where intelligent, altruistic action can be depended upon to replace the judgment which the consumer passes on the social usefulness of a business through the mechanism of the profit system.

Business has a part to play within its own field of operations in achieving and maintaining a high level of employment. It has never played its part with complete intelligence and effectiveness. Even when it plays its part effectively, high employment and production cannot result except as government, labor, and the public also play their parts. The high aim we seek can be achieved. All elements must accept the discipline essential to that achievement.

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NEWS AND NOTES

PERSONAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

Compiled by the Managing Editor

The nominating committee of the American Political Science Association, aided by suggestions from members of the Association through the canvassing ballot which closed on June 30, has completed its work and will submit at the next annual meeting the following list of nominations for officers in 1946: president, Walter F. Dodd (lawyer, Chicago); first vice president, Louis Brownlow (Public Administration Clearing House); second vice president, Pendleton Herring (Harvard University); third vice president, Arnold Brecht (New School for Social Research); members of the Executive Council: Ralph J. Bunche (Howard University); Robert H. Connery (Catholic University of America); Charles McKinley (Reed College); C. Perry Patterson (University of Texas); Harold S. Quigley (University of Minnesota). The nominating committee consists of Robert E. Cushman (chairman), Thomas S. Barclay, Phillips Bradley, Frank W. Prescott, and Lloyd M. Short.

Dr. Phillips Bradley has been appointed professor of industrial and labor relations and director of extension in the New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations at Cornell University. Professor Bradley had previously served for four years on the staff of the New York State Joint Legislative Committee on Industrial and Labor Conditions, studying legislative aspects of the subject.

Professor Roger H. Wells, on leave from Bryn Mawr College, has been made chief of the Local Government Branch, Civil Administration Division, U. S. Group, Control Council in Germany.

Major Karl C. Leebrick, formerly president of Kent State University, has been appointed special assistant to the Political Adviser to General MacArthur. He is now stationed at the headquarters of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Forces in the American Embassy in Tokyo.

Professor Charles E. Merriam is giving a series of lectures at the University of Chicago on "Trends and Problems of American Democracy." During the fall quarter, his three lectures were entitled "The Presidency," "The Congress," and "Presidential and Parliamentary Systems." Among further activities, he is preparing for the Spelman Fund a "New View of the Boundary Lines of Politics and Administration."

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After having served more than three years as chairman of the Appeals Board of the W.P.B., Professor Arthur N. Holcombe has resigned his position and returned to full-time work at Harvard University.

Professor Edwin A. Cottrell has resigned as executive head of the department of political science and dean of the School of Social Sciences at Stanford University. His successor as executive head is Professor Graham H. Stuart and as dean, Merrill K. Bennett, executive director of the Food Research Institute.

Professor Edward S. Corwin is on leave from Princeton University until March 1, 1946. In January, he will deliver the Cook Lectures at the University of Michigan.

At Princeton University, Professor Harwood L. Childs has returned after serving two years in the Overseas Branch of the O.W.I; also Professor George H. Graham, after spending more than two years with the Bureau of the Budget in Washington.

After serving more than three years in the Bureau of Cable Censorship, Professor Paul T. Stafford, of Princeton University, has received his discharge as Lieutenant Commander in the U. S. Naval Reserve. He will resume teaching at Princeton on March 1, 1946.

Dr. Albert Lepawsky, until October 1 a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Army Air Forces, has become associated with the University of Alabama as educational adviser in the Southern Regional Training Program in Public Administration, and as visiting professor.

After some months of service as consultant to the War Crimes Commission in Washington, Professor Hans Kelsen has returned to the political science faculty of the University of California. His title has been changed from visiting professor to professor.

Professor Charles Aikin, of the University of California, after having served as State Price Executive for Northern California, O.P.A., since 1942, has resigned the post and resumed his teaching.

Professor William Y. Elliott, who has served in several capacities with the W.P.B., most recently as Vice-Chairman for Civilian Requirements, has resigned the position mentioned and resumed full-time teaching at Harvard University. During the war, he divided his time between Harvard and his Washington position.

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A series of twelve radio broadcasts by Professor Denna F. Fleming, of Vanderbilt University, and discussing the topic "How Can We Make the Victory Stick," was carried recently over about one hundred stations by transcription. The series was sponsored by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation.

Dr. Avery W. Leiserson has been appointed assistant professor of political science at the University of Chicago and will assume his duties in the department on January 1. Since leaving Princeton University, he has been working with the Bureau of the Budget in Washington.

Because of threatened illness, Professor Harlow J. Heneman has resigned his position as Economic Adviser on German Affairs to Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Forces, and resumed teaching at the University of Michigan.

During the current year, Dr. Frank L. Huntley, an expert on Far Eastern affairs, and a member of the staff of the C.A.T.S. at the University of Michigan, is conducting courses at Michigan on "International Politics of the Pacific Area" and "The Governments of the Far East."

Professor Edmund G. Howe, of Marietta College, represented the American Political Science Association at the inauguration of William Allison Shimer as eleventh president of Marietta College on October 20.

After serving three years in the U. S. Navy as a Lieutenant Commander, Dr. William M. Gibson has resumed his teaching at Duke University in the field of Latin American government and politics. He has been promoted to the rank of associate professor.

Professor Dora Mae Clark, chairman of the department of American history and political science at Wilson College, served on October 13 as delegate of the American Political Science Association at the academic convocation celebrating the seventy-fifth anniversary of the opening of Wilson College.

Dr. Christian L. Larsen has resigned at Western Reserve University to accept an associate professorship at the University of South Carolina. He will devote most of his time to a newly established bureau of public administration.

Professor Clyde Eagleton has returned to his academic duties at New York University after two years in the Department of State, during which time he was a technical adviser to the United States delegation at the

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Dumbarton Oaks Conversations, the meetings of the Committee of Jurists (for revision of the Statute of the Court), and the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco. Members of the government department at the University remaining on leave include Professors Morley Ayearst, who has been in Europe during the past year with F.E.A., and William J. Ronan, Lieutenant (s.g.) in the U. S. Navy.

At Indiana University, Professor Roy V. Peel has been granted leave of absence for another year to continue his work with the national government, and Professor Edward H. Buehrig has also been granted another year's leave to serve in the Department of State. Professor Oliver P. Field is on leave during the fall semester while completing a history of the University during World War II.

Professor Landrum Bolling, of Beloit College, recently returned from a year's assignment in central Europe with the Overseas News Service, lectured at the University of Chicago during the autumn on "Russia in Europe."

Professor Quincy Wright is on leave from the University of Chicago in order to serve as technical adviser to the American member of the International Military Tribunal, Francis Biddle.

Professor Philip W. Ireland has secured leave from the University of Chicago for the academic year 1945–46 in order to accept an assignment as foreign officer, dealing with the Near East.

Lieutenant Colonel Arthur W. Bromage is in the United States on sick leave. It is hoped that he may return to the University of Michigan for the opening of the spring term.

Dr. Byron R. Abernethy has been appointed vice chairman of the Eighth Regional War Labor Board at Dallas, Texas. Prior to this appointment, he was regional wage stabilization director with the Board.

Professor Norman J. Padelford, of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, attended the September meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers in London as adviser to the Secretary of State. While in London, he also represented the United States at the concluding sessions of the European Inland Transport Conference.

Warrant Officer William O. Farber, on leave from the University of South Dakota, and recently attached to Headquarters, Strategic Air

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Forces, on Guam, has been assigned to the AAF Historical Project at the Headquarters of the Army Air Forces in Washington, D. C.

Professor Miller D. Steever, of Lafayette College, served as delegate of the American Political Science Association at the inauguration of Dr. Ralph Cooper Hutchison as president of Lafayette on October 26.

At Yale University, Professor Victor Jones, of the University of California, is in charge of courses on public administration and American government during the fall term.

Mr. Evan A. Iverson has been added to the staff of the Bureau of Public Administration at the University of Tennessee as research associate.

At Queens College, Professor John J. Meng has been made chairman of the department of political science and Mr. Harry V. Jaffa has been added to the staff of the department.

Professor Robert S. McCordock, formerly of Lincoln Memorial University, is now associated with Austin College, Sherman, Texas, but will remain with the Chemical Warfare Service in Baltimore until next summer.

Three new instructors appointed at New York University this year are Mrs. Rita Weber Nealon, Mr. Denis Sinclair Philipps, and Mr. Albert Somit.

At Iowa State College, Dr. John R. Mashek has been promoted to an associate professorship.

After teaching at the University of Washington during the summer session, Dr. Allan F. Saunders, formerly acting assistant professor at Amherst College, is now at the University of Hawaii as associate professor of government.

Dr. Julian Fahy, formerly an immigration member of the Interdepartmental Visa Review Committee, was recently appointed director of the Immigration and Naturalization Service Officers Training School located on the campus of Haverford College. The School conducts an in-service training program.

Major Paul M. A. Linebarger, on military leave from Duke University, served for fifteen months on the staff of the United States Theater Head-

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quarters, China-Burma-India Theater, and is now on duty with the Military Intelligence Division of the War Department in Washington.

Dean Christen Jensen served as delegate of the American Political Science Association at the inauguration of Howard S. MacDonald as president of Brigham Young University on November 14. Professor Milton R. Merrill also represented the Association at the inauguration of Franklin Stewart Harris as president of Utah State Agricultural College on November 16.

Professor Henry P. Jordan has resigned his position with F.E.A. in Washington and returned to his regular duties at New York University.

Dr. William C. Rogers, a member of the staff of Public Administration Clearing House, gave the course on International Relations at the University of Chicago during the autumn quarter.

Drs. Lynton K. Caldwell and Morton Grodzins, members of the staff of the Council of State Governments, are now giving courses in the political science department at the University of Chicago.

Professor Elwyn A. Mauck, who during the past three years has served as a division chief in the Office of Civilian Defense at Washington, has been granted an additional year's leave by the University of North Carolina to permit him to act as visiting professor of public administration at the University of Puerto Rico. In his present post he is assisting in the establishment of a new public administration program recently authorized by the insular legislature.

Professor John Leroy Christian, of the University of Washington, serving as Lieutenant Colonel, General Staff Corps, and Chief, Southern Asia Branch, Military Intelligence, was killed in Burma in May, 1945, while making a landing with the American forces.

Lieutenant-Colonel Claude E. Hawley, formerly professor of political science and personnel administration at the University of Florida, and now serving as detachment commander of the Psychological Warfare Branch, Office of the Military Secretary to General MacArthur, General Headquarters, Southwest Pacific Area, has been awarded the Legion of Merit for exceptionally meritorious conduct in maintaining liaison between the Psychological Warfare Branch field units and General Headquarters in the Southwest Pacific.

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Lieutenant George L. Millikan, USNR, chairman of the department of political science at the University of Delaware, returned during the autumn from overseas duty in Europe and is now stationed in Washington as assistant to the Deputy Secretary, U. S. Joint Chiefs of Staff. While in Europe, Lieutenant Millikan served on the staff of Admiral Stark in London and later as aide and flag secretary to Commander, U. S. Ports and Bases, France.

Dr. Leland M. Goodrich, at present on leave from Brown University, has been promoted to a full professorship. Since 1942, he has been serving as Director of the World Peace Foundation and Executive Secretary of the Universities Committee on Postwar International Problems. He is also giving a course on International Organization at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.

After three and one-half years' service as Lieutenant and Lieutenant Commander in the U. S. Naval Reserve, Professor Francis R. Aumann has returned to his post at Ohio State University. His last assignment was in Germany, as a member of the staff of Admiral Robinson, Commander, U. S. Bases and Ports.

Lieutenant-Commander H. Malcolm Macdonald, on leave from the University of Texas, has recently been appointed an instructor in the department of English, history, and government at the U. S. Naval Academy, where he will remain until June, 1946.

Dr. Charles M. Hardin, recently at Harvard University, has been appointed to an assistant professorship at the University of Chicago.

Professor James J. Robbins, who has been designated Special Assistant to the American Minister at Stockholm and Director of the United States Information Service in Sweden, is on leave from the School of Social Sciences and Public Affairs at the American University until September 1, 1946.

Professor B. Mirkine-Guetzévitch, dean of the Faculty of Law and Political Science in the French University of New York (École Libre des Hautes Études), is giving a course at Teachers College (Columbia University) on "The Underground and the Europe of Tomorrow," with special emphasis on the French underground. This is the first course offered in the United States on the political, social, and constitutional ideas of the European underground.

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Mr. Paul Beckett has resigned his position with the Los Angeles County Bureau of Administrative Research to accept an appointment as assistant professor at the University of New Mexico. Prior to becoming associated with the Los Angeles Bureau, Mr. Beckett was with the U. S. Bureau of the Budget.

Dr. Kenneth O. Warner, formerly Assistant Administrator of the Foreign Economic Administration, has been appointed Executive Assistant to the Commissioner of the U. S. Office of Education. During the current academic year, Dr. Warner is serving as lecturer in politics at the Catholic University of America and is offering a graduate course on Personnel Administration.

Dr. Thomas C. Donnelly has resigned his position as assistant to the Administrator of O.P.A. to return to the University of New Mexico as head of the department of government and as director of the newly formed Division of Government Research. Prior to service as assistant to the Administrator of O.P.A., Dr. Donnelly was Deputy Administrator of O.P.A. for Information.

After serving for two and one-half years with the O.P.A. as head of the government mileage program, Dr. R. W. Brewster joined the staff of the department of political science at Pennsylvania State College as associate professor in November, 1944.

Dr. M. N. McGeary, on leave from Pennsylvania State College, and now a Lieutenant in the Navy, is directing the U. S. Navy Military Government program in Guam.

Dr. John H. Ferguson, on leave with the American Friends Service Committee during the war, resumed his position at Pennsylvania State College on November 1, 1945. Mr. Ralph N. Krecker has been added to the staff of the department of political science at Pennsylvania State as an instructor.

During the summer of 1945, Professor C. B. Robson, of the University of North Carolina, served in Germany with the Morale Division of the United States Strategic Bombing Survey. Professor Ervin P. Hexner was engaged at the same time in research for the International Labor Organization in Montreal. In the department at North Carolina, Drs. W. S. Jenkins, James W. Fesler, and Ervin P. Hexner have been promoted to full professorships, and Dr. Elwyn Mauck to an associate professorship. Professor Jenkins and Professor K. C. Frazer have returned from service

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in the United States Naval Reserve. While in naval service, both of these men attended the Naval School for Military Government and Administration at Columbia University. Professor Jenkins later served in the Pacific area and Professor Frazer with the European fleet. Professor Fesler is continued on leave for service with the Civilian Production Administration as War Production Board Historian. Professor Mauck is on leave as visiting professor of public administration at the University of Puerto Rico.

Dr. Ralph R. Temple, instructor at Brooklyn College from 1931 to 1939, and more recently with the O.P.A., the W.P.B., and other agencies, has been awarded the Legion of Merit for "exceptionally meritorious conduct in the performance of outstanding services in Italy."

During the summer of 1945, Professor John M. Pfiffner, of the University of Southern California, served in Washington as consultant to the Civilian Personnel Division, Office of the Secretary of War.

Dr. Edward Hambro, formerly first secretary of the Political Section of the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, has been appointed Chief of the Legal Section of the Executive Committee of the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations in London.

Major Harold Zink will return to his regular post at DePauw University in September, 1946. From March to September, 1944, he served at the Supreme Headquarters in the European Theater of Operations as the United States member of the editorial board which prepared the *Handbook for Military Government in Germany*. He also served as consultant on German local and regional government. From September, 1944, to September, 1945, he was attached to the United States Group of the Control Council for Germany, serving as a member of the Political Division in the Office of Political Affairs. Part of this time, he served also as executive officer to Ambassador Murphy.

Dr. Robert A. Walker has resigned as assistant director of finance in the U. S. Department of Agriculture to become director of the Institute of Citizenship and professor of political science at Kansas State College. The Institute was created at the instigation of President Milton S. Eisenhower to be the focal point of citizenship education at Kansas State College, and it was made possible by a grant of $200,000 from the Volker Charities, Inc., of Kansas City. It will carry on both an undergraduate and a graduate program in resident instruction, will promote research, and will foster an adult education program throughout the state.

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Dr. E. Foster Dowell, who served as head of the research unit of the Wage Stabilization Division of the Fourth Regional War Labor Board in Atlanta from June to September, 1945, has returned to the University of Georgia as assistant professor. Before going to the War Labor Board, he was research assistant to the Bureau of Public Administration at the University of Georgia and there gave instruction to the fellows of the Southern Regional Training Program in Public Administration.

Professor Walter R. Sharp, of the College of the City of New York, served as Secretary-General of the First Conference of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, which concluded its work on November 1.

After serving in Washington successively as liaison officer and administrative assistant in O.P.M.-W.P.B., chief of the Sources Division of the Bureau of Intelligence in the Domestic Branch of O.W.I., and in B.E.W.-F.E.A. as chief of the European Enemy Division, Dr. George S. Pettee has been appointed to an associate professorship at Amherst College.

In Tennessee, Governor McCord has appointed a commission to study the revision of the state constitution. The Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Tennessee has been named coördinator of research for the commission, and will seek the coöperation of political scientists and economists of the state in the preparation of reports.

It is gratifying to note that European scholarly journals which were casualties of war are beginning to be revived. One such is the *Journal du Droit International*, founded in 1874, suspended in 1940, and again being published since early in the present year.

Dr. John Brown Mason, on leave from Fresno State College, returned in October from ninety days' duty with the War Department General Staff in various parts of Germany and Austria. He was the only political scientist on a five-member mission selected by Secretary Patterson to interrogate top level civilian and military personnel, both interned and free, with a view to securing information of historical importance but not likely to be found in documentary form. Dr. Mason interrogated such persons as Goering, Ribbentrop, von Papen, Ley, Streicher, Rosenberg, Hans Frank, Count Schwerin von Krosigk, the Prince of Hesse, Daluege, Doenitz, Keitel, Jodl, Kesselring, and others, and also interviewed leading persons connected with anti-Nazi activities and the relatives of victims hanged by the Gestapo. Nazi party institutions and unpublicized aspects

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of their workings were the main topic of both interrogations and interviews. Prior to his loan to the War Department for this purpose, Dr. Mason was in charge of training American civilian personnel for both Germany and Austria, as chief of the Training Division of the F.E.A.

Since March 26, 1945, when he was placed on inactive duty by the Navy, Francis O. Wilcox has been serving as Head International Relations Analyst in the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress. This was the first of several new positions authorized by Congress for the Legislative Reference Service to enable the Service to furnish expert assistance to the committees of Congress. Mr. Wilcox's principal assignment is to serve as technical assistant and consultant to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. He attended the San Francisco Conference as consultant to the Congressional members of the American Delegation. Before entering the Navy, he served in the International Section of the Bureau of the Budget.

Three American professors of political science are serving on the faculty of Biarritz American University, established by the Army for American soldiers in Europe. Heading the political science department is Professor John B. Whitton, of Princeton University, giving a course on "The Problem of World Peace." Professor Wilfred E. Binkley, of Ohio Northern University, is giving courses on "Political Parties" and "The Meaning of American Democracy," and Professor Paul S. Jacobson of Colgate University, courses on "Public Administration" and "American Government." Offered by members of the Armed Forces are also "The United States and its Place in the World of Nations," taught by Major Carl Christol, Jr., and "Geopolitics and the Foundation of National Power," taught by Sergeant Roy L. Crutchler. On September 30, the political science contingent paid a visit to Bordeaux, where conferences were held with the Law Faculty on topics of mutual interest.

During the past summer, Indiana University established an Institute of Training for Public Service, with Mrs. Wilma Langdon Davis, formerly of the U. S. Civil Service Commission, as director and also assistant professor of government. The Institute has an advisory board consisting of Professor Ford P. Hall and three other members chosen from outside the department of government. The functions of the Institute are to make available on a campus-wide basis information concerning careers and opportunities in the public service and to advise students with respect to the types of qualifications and training required for these careers and positions. The Institute will also serve as a placement and contact service for students interested in the public service, and will sponsor conferences

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of public officials and personnel heads from all levels of government. The Institute is a coördinating agency rather than an instructional unit, seeking to make available on a larger scale to all branches of the University the services previously performed only partially by the department of government.

Judge Jackson H. Ralston, formerly lecturer on international arbitration at Stanford University, died in Palo Alto on October 13. Judge Ralston practiced law in Washington, D. C., and represented the United States as counsel in the Pious Fund of the Californias against Mexico in the first dispute to be submitted to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague. Settlement of this dispute gave practical reality to the operation of the Court. In 1903, he acted as umpire of the Italian claims against Venezuela, a case which resulted in his compiling a complete record of the Venezuelan Mixed Claims Commission. Judge Ralston was an ardent single taxer, an attorney for nearly a quarter of a century for the American Federation of Labor, chairman of the Northern California Civil Liberties Union, and the author of many articles and books, including *Law and Procedure of International Tribunals*, *International Law from Athens to Locarno*, *What's Wrong With Taxation?*, *A Quest for International Order*, and *International Arbitral Law and Procedure*. Judge Ralston was an uncle of the late Joseph Ralston Hayden, who conferred with him frequently on matters of international relations concerning the Pacific area.

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BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

An International Bill of the Rights of Man. By H. Lauterpacht. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1945. Pp. x, 230. $3.00.)

Solid work throughout, this book starts with a fine, if short, history of the ideas of natural law (65 pp.) and then proceeds to present the formulated draft of a full-grown Bill of Rights, followed by a thorough commentary on its every clause. Until the ever-lacking comprehensive history of natural law shall be written, we have to put up with *ad hoc* surveys like that in the first part of Lauterpacht's book, which serves its purpose well. The emphasis here is on the mutual importance that the theories of natural law and natural rights have had for each other—a thesis not quite so new as the author believes, but certainly correct. His own ardent belief (shared in part by the reviewer) in natural law enlivens the historical account, although the arguments he adduces against the "skepticism of Bentham, Hobbes, and Kelsen" do not quite measure up to the philosophical difficulty, and our scholarly fight in this matter is little helped when he simply *states* that "The individual human being . . . is the ultimate subject of all law" (p. 53).

The proposed international bill contains a maximum program, or at least so it appears at first sight, including inviolability of the person; freedom of religion, speech, association, and assembly; sanctity of the home and secrecy of correspondence; equality before the law and the right of emigration; and also, although on a slightly different level, the right of the citizen to choose his government, protection of colonial peoples and minorities, the right to work and to public assistance. But the author—and this distinguishes his book—is well aware of the difficulties that threaten from the necessity of leaving details, and especially restrictions in favor of the welfare of the community, to local (national) legislation, even regarding freedom from arrest and detention, the paramount importance of which he rightly stresses.

The remedy proposed is a High Commission of the United Nations Organization, to which individuals shall not be entitled to *appeal*, but which may be *petitioned* by them, and which may make recommendations for "humanitarian intervention" to the Executive Council in cases of gross abuses. This is similar to proposals made by Quincy Wright and others. In addition, the author recommends that the major part of his bill be incorporated in the constitutional law of the individual countries. Being a British lawyer, he elaborately counters an objection that might be raised because British parliamentary procedure knows of no qualifications for constitutional amendments. We gladly agree with him that this need be no stumbling block.

Much more difficult is the problem of how to prevent legislative as-

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semblies from passing, in a state of national emotion or under terroristic pressure, sweeping amendments that abrogate individual rights either directly or (as was done in the cases of both Hitler and Pétain) indirectly by giving a blank check to some dictator. This difficulty is hardly mentioned by the author, and the case of Russia is treated only fleetingly in an optimistic footnote saying that there is "no reason why with the passing of the revolutionary period of transition in Russia . . . the use of extraordinary powers inimical to individual freedom should not tend to diminish" (p. 15). The fact that the Soviet constitution of 1936 leaves the Prosecutor General free to have persons arrested without guaranteeing them any judicial habeas corpus procedure is not discussed. The "state-of-siege" problem, which has played such a sinister rôle in many countries, is dismissed in another footnote as "too difficult" (p. 98). In final analysis, then, the only real remedy would remain in the international High Commission and the Executive Council, where political expediency rules the scene. It is a good proposal that the national courts shall have the right and duty to state whenever a national law violates the international bill of rights, even if they have to apply the domestic law (p. 192). This indeed would serve the international procedure; but it is not enough.

This leads me to my main objection. True, the sweeping freedoms of our traditional bills of rights are, and must be, subject to restrictions by law, and, alas, to a large extent. But is this true also for certain minimum standards of human decency that underlie every bill of rights? Would it not be possible to crystallize several such minimum elements and to establish them for areas larger than individual nations, making them amendment-proof for the latter; for example, freedom of petition and of religious belief, prohibition of cruelty and torture and of ex post facto criminal laws, and—last, but not least—although not the complete absence of protective custody, its extension over, say, more than three months, and the denial of a hearing, of counsel, of witnesses, of decent conditions of detention? Could not (so I ask on behalf of all those who have been persecuted, or may be in times to come) the violation of such minimum standards be thrown open to individual appeal to an international supreme court, free from political discussions of expediency? And if this cannot be done on a global basis, is it not feasible on a regional basis, e.g., within an American or European limited-purpose federation? If Russia does not want to have such control, would it not be possible to establish it for those other twenty-odd European states that may be willing to submit to it? This alone would warrant a feeling of security to millions and nip the fascist threat in the bud.

The greatest value of Lauterpacht's book, as I see it, lies in the extensive commentary he gives upon the individual rights. Including

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historical and theoretical arguments in each case, this commentary makes the book a handy reference manual that can be strongly recommended. The sections on equality, freedom of assembly, and minorities are particularly outstanding. Significant lessons from the German and Austrian scene, such as the German Protective Custody Act of 1916, are neglected; they should be seriously studied.

ARNOLD BRECHT.

New School for Social Research.

The Conflict of Laws; A Comparative Study. (Volume One. Introduction: Family Law.) BY ERNST RABEL. (Ann Arbor, Mich.: The University of Michigan Press; Chicago: Callaghan and Company. 1945. Pp. lvi, 745.)

This latest addition to the Michigan Legal Series deserves to be regarded as the most important contribution to American literature in the field of conflict of laws (private international law) since the publication of the *Restatement of the Law of Conflict of Laws* by the American Law Institute and of Professor Beale's treatise on the subject, as well as a major contribution to general international literature in this field. Published under the auspices of the University of Michigan in coöperation with the American Law Institute, the volume is the first of a series designed to supplement the *Restatement* by a comparative study of the law of foreign countries in the same field. For this enterprise, the sponsors were fortunate enough to secure the services of Dr. Rabel, a distinguished international jurist versed both in the civil law and in the common law, whose latest contribution to the highly complex and controversial field of conflict of laws will be welcomed by American specialists, whether or not they agree with his particular theories.

The author's profound scholarship is reflected in the careful and extensive documentation of this work, obviously involving monumental research, including references to principal pertinent statutes and cases of American and leading foreign jurisdictions, to international conventions and treaties, and to legal literature on the subject. For this alone, the work is of incalculable value to judges, legal practitioners, and specialists in the field, and, since this volume relates to family law, to sociologists. But Dr. Rabel's deep insight and wide experience with the conflict of laws have enriched this study so that the result is not a mere annotation of foreign law to the American *Restatement*, but is an independent and comprehensive study of both American and foreign law. The range of the book is enormous, including not only an analysis of the world's major legal systems, a review of their basic principles, and a searching discussion of the principal legal theories involved, but also a presentation of the practical problem of defective mechanics in law-enforcement. The

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political scientist will particularly appreciate the manner in which Dr. Rabel relates his discussion of legal problems to basic social situations. For example, he brings out the need of the state to control the marriage relations of its domiciliaries; and he discusses the clash of interests between states having substantial immigrant populations and those whose nationals have emigrated elsewhere in large numbers, which results in the conflict between the law of domicil and the law of nationality of the parties.

The basic theme of the treatise is an eloquent plea for reform in this chaotic and confused body of law. As the author repeatedly points out, the purpose of this body of law is to ensure the attainment of uniform and just legal solutions, so that private individuals may be reasonably certain of their legal rights in their personal and commercial relations. His treatise demonstrates vividly the miserable failure of the law to do this in the field of domestic relations, where the law as to recognition of the validity of foreign divorce decrees, the validity of foreign marriages, legitimacy of children, with all of its important consequences upon the rights of spouses, children, and third parties, is notoriously, if not disastrously, uncertain. For example, the spectacle of individuals being regarded as bigamists in one jurisdiction and validly married in another is a commonplace occurrence.

In order to achieve this much-needed reform, Dr. Rabel restates his own view that this body of law must be liberated from its present dependence upon the internal legal systems of the various states and must be developed as a separate system of international jurisprudence based upon universal concepts representing reasonable compromises of national interests. He feels that this goal can be attained through the comparative research approach, of which the instant study is an example par excellence, and indicates how the process can be accelerated through resort to international conventions and uniform legislation on such subjects as marriage and divorce. In addition, he makes some very practical suggestions for simplifying the law, such as acceptance of the concept of domicil as determining the personal law of an individual, but removing uncertainty from this concept by requiring either a fixed period of residence or a formal record to establish domicil; and requirement of a uniform fixed period of residence of one or two years in order to establish the jurisdiction of a court to grant divorce.

In this noteworthy endeavor to bridge the gulf between the world's chief legal systems and to ascertain the possibilities of harmonizing their differences in the interests of justice, the author has made an excellent start toward the objectives he advocates. As he points out, in no field is international coöperation of more urgent necessity and of more practical importance. As the force of events irresistibly draws the international

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community closer together, it is to be hoped that the law which governs private international relations will not lag far behind.

MARCIA MAYLOTT.

U. S. Department of State.

The Outlook for International Law. BY J. L. BRIERLY. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1944. Pp. 142.)

Amidst the wordy battle now being waged between "realists" and "perfectionists" in the field of international organization, it is welcome relief to read Professor Brierly's judicious evaluation of the rôle which international law may be expected to play in the maintenance of the future peace and security of nations. It seems undeniable that international law has now reached the nadir of its influence and prestige. This may be judged by the scant and passing references made to it in the Charter of the United Nations, which, to an even greater degree than the Covenant of the League, is a "political" instrument. Some of the principal architects of the Charter have, in fact, revealed an anti-legalistic bias which is reminiscent of, and perhaps is inspired by, that of Woodrow Wilson. But denial of the significance, and even of the existence, of international law has come not only from the *Realpolitiker*, but also from "perfectionists" who refuse to concede the legal nature of a system which in any respect falls short of their ideal of a declared and enforceable law of a world-state.

To Professor Brierly, international law is neither a "sham" nor a "force with inherent strength of its own." It is not "a sort of sociological maid of all work," but a "highly specialized instrument," the limitations of which must be borne constantly in mind. International law does not, and cannot, in the present state of international society, do much more than delimit the respective spheres in which states are entitled to exercise their authority. It is still very definitely in the *laissez-faire* stage of social development, and leaves to exclusive regulation by states large areas of international life within which friction and strife may arise. In many fields, international law operates with a regularity, and is observed with a uniformity, comparable with the situation prevailing within a well-ordered state. But the routine administration of international law escapes popular notice, which concentrates upon the spectacular and catastrophic breaches of law attending the outbreak and the conduct of war. Comparisons between the two systems of law are frequently misleading in that they tend to contrast "the political failings of international law with the successes of municipal law in regulating the private affairs of individuals." The contrast would be reduced, Professor Brierly maintains, if we would compare the operation of the two systems in politically unimportant matters, where the standard of observance in both is fairly high, and, on

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the other hand, in matters in which the political element is prominent. In the latter case, legal methods of settlement, even within a state, are not always the most effective means for disposing of issues. Powerful demands by organized groups cannot always be satisfied through the ordinary instrumentalities of the law, and "when the generality of the members feel strongly that the interests that their association exists to protect are 'vital,' they often develop a tendency to pursue their purposes extra-legally, and sometimes even illegally, without any punctilious regard to the legal nexus which nominally continues to bind them to the rest of the society of which they are only a part. They behave in fact within the state in a way which is fundamentally similar to, though ordinarily it is less uncompromising than, the way in which sovereign states behave in the international society" (p. 47).

The fact that international law does not now guarantee to states the satisfaction of their legitimate demands within a framework of general security sets narrow limits, in the author's opinion, to the legal settlement of international disputes, and, particularly, to the compulsory jurisdiction of international tribunals. Progress lies, not in an attempt to develop the law by codification and by its uniform judicial application, but through the finding of solutions for individual problems in such a way as to take account of the particularity of the situation of every state. This implies that the solution of the most vital issues must be sought by political means through the adjustment and conciliation of the divergent interests of states. The prerequisite of such a system is to be found in an international organization which has the power to assure the security of its members. Only within such a framework can law be developed and the legal process be substituted for unilateral violence. The rule of law is premissed upon order, and, of these, "order" has priority, both in history and in logic. "Law," Professor Brierly observes, "never creates order; the most it can do is to help to sustain order when that has once been firmly established, for it sometimes acquires a prestige of its own which enables it to foster an atmosphere favourable to the continuance of orderly social relations when these are called upon to stand a strain. But always there has to be order before law can even begin to take root and grow. When the circumstances are propitious, law is the sequel, but it is never the instrument, of the establishment of order" (p. 74).

A paraphrase of a single thesis can give only a very inadequate notion of the rich content of Professor Brierly's little work, which furnishes not only a badly-needed introduction to the study of international law, but also a summation of a theory of international law and relations which the author has developed over a period of a quarter-century. To those who await with eagerness everything that Professor Brierly writes, the ideas set forth in the present work will not seem new. The conservative-

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ness of the writer's views and the cautiousness with which he frames his generalizations are all the more welcome during a period in which so much of the thinking on international affairs is dominated by the "cynic or the sciolist."

LAWRENCE PREUSS.

University of Michigan.

The Free State; Some Considerations on Its Practical Value. BY D. W. BROGAN. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1945. Pp. 130. $2.00.)

Mr. Brogan has written a book that plainly will be gratifying to those who enjoy the comfortable illusions engendered by self-righteousness and self-adulation. In a book on the free state, which significantly fails anywhere to define freedom, the author congratulates Great Britain and the United States upon the possession of a political and cultural history that, despite occasional lapses, was so dedicated inherently to the perpetuation of righteousness that it was destined to overcome the Nazi political monstrosity growing inevitably out of a German "culture" that knew neither freedom nor morality. Mr. Brogan pursues this theme in a style that is frequently vivid and vigorous, sometimes persuasive, often more glib than profound.

We have heard the Germany of Frederick the Great and of Bismarck identified so often with the Germany of Hitler that we are inclined to accept the conclusion for the proof. "A military, unpolitical state," Mr. Brogan declares, "is one in which all institutions take their colour, their ways of working, their public importance, from the army, whose preeminence is never in any dispute. Such a state was Prussia; such a state was the Second Reich; such a state was the Third Reich" (p. 106). Once again we are told that Nazism was nothing more than an exaggerated form of Prussian militarism.

That Hitler was an Austrian, not a Prussian; that he was not exactly born into the ranks of the Prussian aristocracy nor a member of the General Staff; that the National Socialist party was born in Munich, not in what was then called Red Prussia, are some of the many facts this facile generalization ignores. It requires no ingenuity to prove that Germany under Bismarck was an autocratic state, but it would require considerable ingenuity to prove that Nazism is nothing more dangerous than autocracy or to prove that autocracy is a peculiarly German phenomenon.

It is plainly gratifying to think that "the habit of self-criticism, of repentance, is inbred in the Western societies," that "the British and American peoples accept the dogma that 'righteousness exalteth a nation' " (p. 45), and it may lull some into comfortable complacency to be told that Nazism represents, not a crisis in Western culture, but the de-

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feated political manifestation of a culture so estranged from Western culture as to be an anomaly. If history intrudes upon our logic to suggest that tyranny has not been confined alone to Germany, we may dismiss the historical record with a joke. For Brogan says: "Napoleon, noting that there was no literature in France and writing, 'Let the Minister of the Interior see to it,' has long been a joke. But, as Albert Thibaudet says, if all the good writers of France were in exile under Napoleon, there was one exception, the Emperor himself. No such comfort can be taken by the subjects of the author of *Mein Kampf*" (pp. 17–18).

If more recent history suggests that the phenomenon of Fascism appeared first in Italy (in a country that had no Prussian military tradition), that Fascist régimes exist in Spain and Argentina, that a ruthless military dictatorship long existed in Japan without the ideological assistance of Prussian political philosophy, that tyranny may be the correct word to describe the Soviet Russian régime, we can simply ignore the suggestions of contemporary history. And that is precisely what Mr. Brogan does.

Mr. Brogan is on more solid ground when he explains the superiority of democratic political techniques and institutions over against those of an autocratic society. It is only when he suggests that these techniques and institutions are "natural" to the American and British peoples, that their justification ultimately is pragmatic rather than moral, that he fosters a doctrine which is dangerously naive. If "a free society is one that accepts risks of diversity . . . " simply "on pragmatic grounds . . . ," or simply "because of a kind of mystical respect for the unpredictable character of human action and the unpredictable problems posed by this very imperfectly mastered world" (pp. 98–99), its freedom does not rest on very solid or enduring ground.

JOHN H. HALLOWELL.

Duke University.

Puritanism and Democracy. By RALPH BARTON PERRY. (New York: The Vanguard Press. 1944. Pp. xviii, 688. $5.00.)

Professor Perry has written a sturdy, controversial book. It is an argument that seeks to restore the prestige of seventeenth-century New England by interpreting the American tradition primarily as a combination of Puritanism and political democracy. Following the introductory chapters that discuss the nature of national tradition, the volume examines at length the Puritan system. Puritanism is then appraised, and it is shown that most of the essential values of American democracy are found in it. Democracy, as it emerged from Puritanism, is then evaluated, although here many of the original ideas and practices of Puritanism are rejected by the author.

The non-Puritan might begin by saying that an argument which

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places one trend in religious thought at the creative focus of American life is divisive, for what we need more than ever is a sense of our community of traditions. He would say that Professor Perry's book at times takes Puritanism quite narrowly, and at other moments so broadly that it is equivalent, as in the final pages of the book, to "Christian democracy." In the latter case, Puritanism includes all of the men and their intellectual descendants who fought and finally defeated the Puritan oligarchies. The Anglican would be annoyed to find that "the form of Virginia society was due to the cult of tobacco rather than to a cult of piety" (p. 73), in contrast to New England spiritual depth. And this in spite of the large number of Anglicans who participated in the Continental Congresses and in the framing of the Constitution (p. 188). The Catholic will find in this book that he is largely excluded from the spiritual and political tradition of America; he might note that Puritanism in its strength drew heavily on Catholic tradition, as in natural law and contract doctrines; but Professor Perry does not explore this aspect of the argument. Moreover, the American Catholic will be shocked to find that in the toleration of Catholics, "the same issue has been forced to the front by the rise of communism and Fascism, and constitutes the central paradox of political democracies" (p. 545). The American of Jewish faith might find that he, also, is excluded, as Jewish idealism is neither accepted as a creator of our democracy nor as a faithful custodian of its spirit.

But the secular democrat will be equally perturbed and unconvinced. He might object to the almost exclusively English interpretation of the Enlightenment; he might argue that by the broad system of identifications the author uses (e.g., p. 634) the Puritans become too secular, while men like Thomas Jefferson become too theistic and Puritan. The secular democrat, likewise, will note with regret the care with which the author sympathetically explains the Puritan suppression of enemies (pp. 294, 334 ff, 342), and that Roger Williams as an apostle of toleration is hardly discussed. "These radical dissenters stood for individualistic, anarchical, and subjectivist tendencies which were believed to be fatal to social cohesion" (p. 76). The secular and non-Puritan democrat would argue that democracy developed because the "moral athleticism" of the Puritans was tempered and overcome.

The Anglican, finally, might say that the whole temper of Professor Perry's argument, his conservative gradualism (pp. 637–638), his ultimate approval of what might be likened to a middle way in religion, better comports with that enemy of Puritanism, Richard Hooker and his *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, than with Calvinism.

Still, we have here, aside from all controversy on the nature of American tradition, a worth-while book. The first three chapters are a powerful argument for the recognition of the force of ideals in our tradition, and

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few would question the insight of the author's analysis of democracy. The examination of liberty that Professor Perry offers deserves the sober and thoughtful attention of all who are serious in their belief in democracy. Moreover, we are indebted to the author for showing in so forceful a way that political theory must be concerned with theology, for theology and its attendant philosophical statements lead directly to the issue of what man is really like, his moral nature and his place in the life of reason.

FRANCIS G. WILSON.

University of Illinois.

The Church and the Liberal Society. By EMMET JOHN HUGHES. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1944. Pp. xv, 310.)

In a world which has lost its Balance of Power and is striving to regain it, the Catholic Church, although not officially represented at the conference tables, is an important factor. Hughes' interpretation of the relation of the Church to the social and political problems of our times is, therefore, a welcome contribution to the understanding of the forces which are shaping a new world order.

Being a Catholic and an anti-Liberal, the author will perhaps not take offense at our use of the term "Balance of Power" in speaking of the political action of the Church. The term is taken out of the dictionary of the Liberal Society, a society which has lost its "organic and functional unity" to become the "projection of an atomistic individualism upon a national scale." For a Catholic like Hughes, this society represents the dissolution of "a unity sought only as a translation into social forms of the immanent harmony of the universe" into "competitive national and imperialist systems." "Balance of Power" is known to an acquisitive, mercantile society; it is born of the thinking of men who attempted to calculate and measure the forces of this world. It is a secular term coined after the medieval scheme of values found its end in the revolution of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Catholic social and political thought is averse to the break-up of society into separate spheres and to the division of the world into separate national powers as they developed in the West during that revolution. It still compares society to the human body, an organic and functional unity, where each part acts in concert with the others to one mutual end. Society should be "endowed with a moral purpose" and governed by ethical precepts which "define the functions of men and classes."

Although this is essentially the author's view of state and society, he indicates by the method of his analysis of the rise of liberalism that he does not want merely to pick up where medieval thought ended. He stresses the economic aspect of the Liberal upsurge and its connection with the new religious and intellectual forces. But others have done this

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before him, and Hughes does not pretend to add any new factors. It is, however, significant that he adopts the Marxist technique of economic analysis and acknowledges "the essential vitality of the Marxist movement and its intelligent, incisive understanding of the economic energies of the Liberal Society." Of course, Hughes is no Marxist and does not subscribe to historical materialism; and while his adoption of Marxism is thus necessarily limited, there are other factors which seem to make his approach to the solution of our economic and political troubles somewhat related to that of Marxist writers. He thinks that intellectual and political association of the Church with a landed aristocracy has become an historical impossibility, just as he is averse to a compromise or an alliance with the bourgeoisie. According to his views, Catholic social thought accepts private property, the social basis of the liberal bourgeoisie, only as a *de facto* institution, since the Church, within the framework of its social philosophy, holds a pragmatic view of all social institutions. On the other hand, democracy, as the author understands it, is based on the laboring masses, because it is a faith asserting the right to social equality, and thus is a part of the Christian ideology.

Culminating in this line of thought, Hughes' book becomes a positive attempt to define a social and political doctrine to compete with the Marxist theory—an attempt to lay the foundations for a Catholic political movement to survive the final collapse of the Liberal world. Whether the Church, as an institution, will heed it and "pay the penance for the historical misjudgments and institutional sins" is doubtful. The example of Spain, of which the author should have first-hand knowledge, proves only too clearly that the Church, in at least one case, has not given up its association with a landed aristocracy, and current developments in Europe make the Church appear as one of the strongest contemporary pillars of private property. Only recently, in an address to the Catholic Action, as reported in the *New York Times* of April 30, 1945, the Pope warned Catholics against following social theories and systems which are not tolerated by the Church; and Church authorities have repeatedly condemned Italian Catholics whose social outlook embraces socialization of private property.

The Church as an institution, as *Externa Societas Sacramentorium*, is also in the eyes of the faithful subject to human weaknesses and errors. It may continue to cling to inherited habits of thought, or it may succeed in restating its social philosophy in terms of this age. And even if it succeeds in this, it may go down to defeat and be swept aside with many other institutions by the forces born in what the author calls the doom of Capitalist Liberal society. It is the merit of Hughes' book that it raises the question of whether and how the Church can survive, besides giving an excellent analysis of the Liberal world which, although it may not be an

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original, certainly constitutes a valuable, contribution to our knowledge of that remarkable period.

EUGENE ANSCHEL.

New York City.

Le Problème de Civilisation; La Nation. BY J.-T. DELOS. (Montréal: Éditions De L'Arbre. 1944. 2 vols. Pp. 197, 218.)

M. Delos, a French-Catholic social scientist, teaching at present in Quebec, views the problem of the place of nationality within the framework of contemporary civilization. In the first volume of his work, which bears the sub-title "Sociology of the Nation," he arrives at a conclusion on a fundamental difference between nation and state: the nation is a community, perhaps the most important and most perfect community which civilization has produced; the state is a society, a rationalized and formalized super-structure. The national community offers in the later stages of its development a propitious *milieu* for the formation of the state, but the two are in no way identical, as the nineteenth century believed. Both are closely connected forms of civilization, but their functions are different. The nation is the result of a way of life which has been practiced for a very long time. This way of life is composed of a number of ideals which govern the different fields of social activity: family and home, work and wealth, culture and religion. They are unified by a "conception générale de la vie"; they are held together by a moral tie. The nation embraces the institutions of private life; the state is an element of public order which endows the life of the community with the formal organization and respects its liberty and proper ends. This distinction between nation and state is strongly emphasized throughout the book; and M. Delos believes that to confound them leads necessarily to totalitarianism, to the absorption of the private life in the public life, to the profit of the state.

The second volume carries the sub-title "Nationalism and the Legal Order." The nineteenth century, the age of nationalism, proclaimed the sovereignty of the nation, and on its behalf the century was subjected to a permanent revolution against the legal order. This principle of nationalism first preserved the liberal, individualistic character of the eighteenth century, but soon national liberty and political liberty were confounded, democratic liberties and national independence were demanded under one and the same name. More and more, the state became subservient to the nation and its goals. Political decisions were legitimized, not through the autonomy of the human will nor through reference to the common weal, but through their conformity with the vital needs of the ethnic group. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the coincidence of the national with the political will was established as an ideal; as the

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century progressed, the nationality gained over the state. The triumph of this later development emerged in the totalitarian nationalism of which the author finds the roots in the thought of Fichte and Hegel. He briefly shows their influence in Russia as well as in Germany, but on the whole he confines himself to an analysis of the German form of totalitarianism, especially of Hitlerism.

The concluding part of the study is a most valuable discussion of the relations between nation and state in the emerging world order. The author rightly warns against the utilization of the dynamism of national sentiment for the profit of essentially political claims. The evolving world order must protect, without identifying them, the rights of man and of the citizen, on the one hand, and the rights of man as a member of a nationality, on the other hand. National rights must be established as international obligations carried out by states.

HANS KOHN.

Smith College.

Safeguarding Civil Liberty Today. By CARL L. BECKER, MAX LERNER, JAMES LAWRENCE FLY, ROBERT E. CUSHMAN, FRANCIS BIDDLE, AND EDMUND EZRA DAY. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1945. Pp. x, 158. $2.00.)

This volume contains the Edward L. Bernays lectures of 1944 given at Cornell University, together with an address by President Edmund Ezra Day of Cornell. Professor Becker's address on "Political Freedom: American Style" presents an interesting account of the historical background of political freedom in the United States and expresses the view that, to meet our present problems, it may be necessary to abandon a system of government which separates the executive and legislative branches and permits them to work at cross purposes. While not recommending the British system of cabinet government, he appears to favor the parliamentary system. In an address entitled "Freedom: Image and Reality," Max Lerner indicates that there has been less actual repression of liberties during the recent war than during World War I, and that there has been less basis for such repression. He calls attention to the racial difficulties which extend throughout the country. James Lawrence Fly, former chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, in an address on "Freedom of Speech and the Press," calls attention to the fact that the radio has for the first time made free speech a living reality outside of the local town hall and public square, and indicates that there must be freedom of all peoples to listen without fear and without restraint. And, as he says, the freedom to so hear carries with it the freedom to express thoughts fully and openly. Professor Cushman's address on "Civil Liberty and Public Opinion" devotes itself to the principle that

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"neither civil liberty nor public opinion can exist in a democratic state without the other," and that "civil liberty can exist only so long as it is supported and defended by public opinion." He regards the work of the Dies Committee as seriously detrimental to civil liberty.

In an address on "Civil Rights and the Federal Laws," Mr. Biddle, former Attorney General of the United States, presents an interesting account of the Federal Civil Rights Act and of recent activities of the Department of Justice which have resulted in the victory of Screws v. United States, 65 Sup. Ct. 1031 (1945). The volume concludes with a brief address by President Day of Cornell entitled "Freedom to Learn." He well states: "The freedom without which democracy cannot survive is the freedom to listen, to read, to observe, to reflect; in short, the freedom to learn."

The volume as a whole is of value to those interested in civil rights.

WALTER F. DODD.

Chicago, Illinois.

Approaches to National Unity; A Symposium. EDITED BY LYMAN BRYSON, LOUIS FINKELSTEIN, AND ROBERT M. MACIVER. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1945. Pp. xxiv, 1037. $5.00.)

The fifth annual meeting of the Conference on Science, Philosophy, and Religion in Their Relation to the Democratic Way of Life, in its sessions at Columbia University during September, 1944, continued its attack upon the crisis of the present age, and brought together a variety of views upon the elusive object of a social, intellectual, and moral integration—at least in the matter of our national outlook. The present large tome of papers presented, including transcripts of some of the accompanying discussion, is given a not very apt title; and yet it would be difficult to think of anything better. The quest for *national* unity, as such, is by no means emphasized. Problems of the world generally are in large measure included. The contributions which deal with group relations and group tensions refer, to be sure, in major part, yet far from wholly, to the national scene. Many of the papers, and some of the best, extend broadly into the wide realm which the name of the Conference itself indicates.

The difficulty of suggesting even an appropriate title perhaps stems from the basic problem of the Conference itself. The Conference began in 1940 with the avowed object of discovering what common ground there might be in the realms of science, philosophy, and religion. After the second annual meeting, certain of the participants broke away to form another gathering, the Conference on the Scientific Spirit and Democratic Faith, some of these expressing the view that they could "see no profit in joining a group in which clergymen or believers in revealed truth took

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part." Wherever the fault lay, as Ordway Tead urges in the present volume, despite the dissension, the significant thing is the shared *desire*, on the part of all groups, for greater unity of thought and outlook. That desire is itself evidence of a measure of real community.

No intellectual synthesis of the varied contributions of the sixty-four participants represented is, however, possible. Many have helped to make of the volume a considerable storehouse of information, no less so than its predecessor of the year before. Some of the papers cover practical, or in a narrowed sense scientific, rather than philosophical, ground. Some proceed upon a high level of insight and conviction, while elsewhere one meets with extended emissions of the author's well-known views—or in some cases not well known—in either event with no close relevance to the principal quest. One or two members of the Conference itself have suggested, in the opinion of the reviewer wisely, that it might be better to include fewer topics and, presumably, a more highly selected personnel—though many of the contributors are of first rank.

Scholars and investigators will find original material toward the study of group tensions. A second group of papers deals with means of communicating to the public the views of experts. Included are two or three critiques of the Conference itself. A number of the analyses cover the broadest aspects of science, philosophy, and religion.

To the reviewer, the last-mentioned seem, on the whole, the most successful—in view, perhaps, of the integrative purpose of the Conference at the outset. The philosophers and the theologians occupy broadly the same domain, and there is no evidence among either of these groups of that lack of "dispassionate and open-minded spirit which some of the humanists and naturalists" seem to have missed in the first conference.

May it be that science, philosophy, and religion are on the way toward some greater degree of mutuality than has prevailed in recent decades? Dr. Overstreet's emphasis upon modern science as seconding the force of traditional philosophy in the support of human rights generally, and therefore in opposition to racial and other group exclusiveness, finds a general appeal in the Conference; though there are some who consider that the importance of "rational-cognitive orientations" has been exaggerated.

Evident, however, is a diversity of interests and points of view, frequent failure to arrive at any real give and take, in a few cases utter misunderstandings, by certain of the members, of the ablest of delineations offered by others. There is some danger, as Louis Finkelstein says in his Critique of the Conference, that "the world will be divided between the men without intellectual training and caliber, and the men who possess such training and caliber only for limited and specific objectives." On the other hand, significant counter-trends may be under way, not least in the world of American higher education. This Conference, with its inclusion of so

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many contributors of national prominence, is itself not without meaning. Toward a highly significant accomplishment, however, Lyman Bryson's suggestions of how to improve its technique would seem to be much in order.

WALTER SANDELIUS.

University of Kansas.

Big Democracy. By PAUL H. APPLEBY. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1945. Pp. viii, 197. $2.75.)

This is one of the most perspicacious books on democratic government that has come out in a long time. It embraces the penetrating and philosophical reflections of a shrewd observer who has participated in top-level administration for some thirteen years.

Paul Appleby, editor and owner of small-town newspapers, went to Washington with Henry A. Wallace. Nobody and no document came to the Secretary of Agriculture without passing Appleby and his small team. Their work—probably the best general staff work done for a cabinet officer—is described in Gaus and Wolcott's *Public Administration and the Department of Agriculture.* Appleby took a leading part in transforming the Bureau of Agricultural Economics into the thinking arm of the Department; he himself furnished the bridge between the planners and the chief, the need for which he paints so vividly. In a few years he became Under-Secretary of Agriculture. From the Department he went to that coign of vantage, the Bureau of the Budget, where he serves as Assistant Director.

This book is not a systematic treatise. Like Selden's *Table Talk*, it contains reflections on many aspects of the author's field. The chapters are pithy, mercifully free from administrative jargon, and studded with the epigrammatic statements of a skilled journalist. They revolve about a few central problems, first the problem of "big democracy": "How can we be a complex society and yet be a democratic society?"

Appleby's basic premises, which are illuminated in chapter after chapter, are that government *is* politics and that administration is action. The democratic *base* for government is free speech and free elections. Democratic government calls, not for "persons with power," but for "organizations with responsibility." The successful operation of government calls for a "balance . . . in executive personnel between capacity for popular leadership and . . . for organized management."

In such a framework, discussions of efficiency and red tape fall into their proper place. A new agency has a great drive because of its sense of mission: it "simply cannot be highly efficient." The task is to increase efficiency through organization without losing that drive: that process is

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the development of "red tape"—"that part of my business that you don't know anything about."

"Operating on One's Proper Level" is a chapter of particular insight. "The process of administration . . . is the process of moving matters up and down, to and from successive levels of abstraction." "Handlers of artifacts we have in abundance, but we have a desperate and growing need . . . for men . . . who can deal in relationships." If men function well on a high level, "their success cannot be due to greater experience in everything in the field below that level." The worst mistake an administrator can make is to dip into the stream of detail below his level.

I quote because I want to give the flavor of this book rather than a synopsis of Appleby's argument. He seeks always to show the special problems of making government serve the public interest, the *national* interest. Recognizing the importance of politics in government, he laments that "we have no adequate system for developing . . . a pool of national politicians."

Into the ambit of Appleby's reflections come such real and difficult problems of government and administration as distinguishing a pressure from a popular reaction and dealing with patronage and relations between Congress and the executive departments. I have never seen in print so frank and candid a treatment of patronage, in the terms in which a high-minded administrator must deal with it.

As a newspaper man, Appleby reports sadly that "administration is, of all fields, the one of which Washington correspondents ordinarily know least." He chides them gently for declaiming against red-tape when they dislike merely the decision of an official, for praising one instance of a process when they damn another without understanding that the process is the same.

Appleby demonstrates in this book a profound "sense of relationships" among the basic elements of successful government in a big democracy. He should have a wide audience.

CHARLES S. ASCHER.

New York City.

Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal. By THOMAS A. BAILEY. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1945. Pp. xii, 429. $3.50.)

The Killing of the Peace. By ALAN CRANSTON. (New York: The Viking Press. 1945. Pp. xii, 304. $2.50.)

These two books, by an historian and a journalist, respectively, both deal with the Senate's failure to ratify the Treaty of Versailles and the consequent failure of the United States to join the League of Nations; they supplement one another, and together provide a fairly thorough reëxamination of that problem. It is particularly interesting to get this

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reëxamination now, just as the San Francisco Conference has produced a new League of Nations and just as the Senate has, with remarkable speed and unanimity, taken the United States into that new League, which is in most respects the old League under a new name. The result is, as both authors clearly intend, to emphasize the incredibly irrational American failure a quarter of a century ago, to speculate on the extent of our responsibility for the terrific tragedy that might conceivably have been avoided but for that failure, and to wonder all the more why that had to happen and who was to blame.

For a study of these questions, Professor Bailey is the better equipped. A student and teacher with considerable reputation in the special field of diplomatic history, he has all the appurtenances of the careful and objective scholar, and he has a gift for good writing. He has set out to produce a full treatment of the relationship of the United States to the peacemaking after the first World War, this book being a sequel to his *Woodrow Wilson and the Lost Peace*, published in 1944. That book and this one do together provide a sparkling and convenient survey of the subject, although there is little that is new; they are particularly useful in the exhaustive and carefully annotated bibliographical appendices; but they are also written as critical interpretations, with a point of view which is indeed tenable, but unsupported by their own evidence.

In the first book (not here under review, but pertinent), Bailey attempted to show that President Wilson lost the peace by compromising too much; in this second volume, he attempts to show that Wilson lost the League of Nations by not compromising enough. He disclaims any desire to be pontifical in his judgments, and is obviously concerned lest his "objectiveness" about Wilson versus Lodge be construed as giving aid and comfort to isolationism; and he points out, quite correctly, that it is an absurd over-simplification to make Lodge the sole villain of the piece, who alone kept us out of the League of Nations. The answer is, of course, that no reputable scholar has done quite that, and the evidence in Bailey's own book certainly shows that Lodge was the arch-villain who organized and led what was a genuine conspiracy to kill the Treaty and the League, with the mean motive to discredit Wilson and with no consideration for the country's welfare. Whether Wilson might have won in substance, if not completely in form, by further compromise (for it is nonsense to suggest that Wilson was not willing to compromise at all), is sufficiently answered by Bailey's own account (although quite incomplete, especially in ignoring Lodge's repacking of the Republican conferees) of the Bipartisan Conference (pp. 229–232), which proves Lodge's complete insincerity and complete unwillingness to accept a compromise; and by Bailey's own account of the situation with respect to the Republican platform of 1920: "Lodge flared up against ex-Senator Crane's proposal [to

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declare for the Treaty with the Lodge reservations]. He threatened to lay down his gavel, take the floor, *and fight against his own reservations*, if the committee took any such action. Wilson must be beaten and the party kept united, even at the cost of consistency" (p. 301). Bailey should also read and reread his own "brutal conclusions" (pp. 353–355), which puts the blame where it belongs, on the "Senate oligarchs," the "Illustrious Thirty-one," the "Republican chieftains," the "voters," and Harding. Somewhere in that list is certainly also Lodge, but not Wilson.

Cranston's book, by contrast, is journalistic, not scholarly, but thoroughly refreshing. The purpose of the book is not to debunk, but to relate. It consists of brief and somewhat disconnected bits, arranged chronologically, and reproducing the leading events on given dates, almost in the form of a diary. There is no analysis, no interpretation; the events and news items are left to speak for themselves. In this way one is forced to recall most vividly such items, in respect to the problem of the League of Nations, as the Lodge-Theodore Roosevelt conspiracy to beat the League, and the strategy of beating it with reservations, entered into even before the Peace Conference met and the League Covenant was drafted; the later Lodge-Borah conspiracy and strategy to the same effect; the Bipartisan Conference and Lodge's part in it (more complete than Bailey's account); Lodge's fight on his own reservations; the nomination of Harding and the attempt of the eminent Thirty-one, led by such statesmen as Hughes and Hoover, to make Harding a pro-Leaguer or to fool the public into thinking him one (Bailey also gives us a good account of this extraordinary episode in high-minded campaigning)—these and other items in the whole sordid business are revealed in their stark reality by the simple manner of presentation. No interpretation is needed, for the events themselves, when remembered, are sufficient; the only difficulty about it lies in our poor recollection of the events, or in the emphasis put upon them by historians.

The two books together should make us increasingly appreciative of the statesmanship that somehow brought out the surprisingly sensible attitude of the Senate toward the second League, but also no less humiliated by the cynical action twenty-five years ago. What brought about that change in attitude? Could it be that the leadership in the Senate, as well as in the White House, had something to do with it? In addition, of course, to the second World War.

CLARENCE A. BERDAHL.

University of Illinois.

Woodrow Wilson and the People. BY H. C. F. BELL. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 1945. Pp. 392. $3.00.)

This is a popular, but scholarly, account of Wislon's career from the

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time of his inauguration as president of Princeton until his death. Professor Bell's emphasis is upon the personality of Wilson, but the issues and events which Wilson did so much to shape are lucidly explained, and Wilson's friends and enemies move smoothly in and out of the narrative, bearing their credentials unobtrusively.

A new book on Wilson requires explanation. Professor Bell's explanation is indicated in the title: his thesis is "that sustained effort to establish and maintain contact with the people was one of the strongest factors in Wilson's public life." The thesis is thoroughly consistent with the theory of leadership that Wilson had been teaching years before he had any prospect of a political career. "Faith in the essential goodness and wisdom of the people as a mass," Professor Bell rightly insists, "had always underlain . . . his whole conception of government and politics." (The customary interpretation of Wilson as a rather conservative, theoretically-minded professor of government who became a Progressive late in life in response to a timely opportunity to enter politics ignores his early respect for Lincoln, "the supreme American of our history," and his doubts about the conservative Whiggism of Bagehot, whom he otherwise admired.) But faith in himself, as Bell also emphasizes, was quite as important in Wilson's career, and this was bolstered by the clarity of his principles and the "dynamic power of his religion." He knew exactly what he wanted, and he was every bit as certain as Theodore Reoosevelt of his own rightness; hence he started with an initial advantage over his opponents, whether at Trenton, Washington, or Paris.

These themes run through Bell's analysis of Wilson's rôle at the Peace Conference and the struggle for the League. He stresses the fact that Wilson saw himself not only as spokesman for the American people, but also as the true representative of the peoples of Europe, who were unworthily represented by their elected leaders. He was so sure that he was right and so confident of the essential rightness of the American people that he failed to appreciate the true state of affairs at home: that the idea of the League was not yet so deeply rooted that it could withstand the misleading and confusing attacks of its diverse enemies. Wilson's failure to secure American approval of the League resulted basically from the fact that his profound sense of the importance of his mission came to overshadow his earlier sensitivity to popular reactions.

Professor Bell is an admirer of Wilson, but a discriminating and critical admirer who does not try to gloss over Wilson's weaknesses and errors of judgment. The book is liberally illustrated with quotations from Wilson's writings and speeches. Many of these are familiar, but it is nevertheless unfortunate that Professor Bell accepts the current superstition that the omission of footnotes makes a book more readable.

JOHN D. LEWIS.

Oberlin College.

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The Peace Conference of 1919; Organization and Procedure. By F. S. Marston. (London: Oxford University Press. 1944. Pp. xi, 276.)

Dealing with a rather technical subject, this book is indeed a model of historical scholarship, supported by maturity of judgment and political insight. As Professor C. K. Webster says in his foreword, the book does not deal with what was done at the peace conference of Versailles, but "how it was done and why it was done in that way." In other words, Dr. Marston's volume deals with the organization and procedure of the peace conference of Versailles. It is his hope that the mistakes made at Versailles will teach us a lesson and that we shall be wiser in the organization of any peace conference which may create a new world system after the second World War.

The weakness of the settlements terminating the first World War becomes obvious when one remembers that the order of Versailles was completely destroyed within a twenty-year period, and that peace in the Pacific could be maintained for not more than ten years. The author is convinced that part of the responsibility for this failure to achieve lasting peace must be ascribed to shortcomings in procedure. He finds that the statesmen of Versailles lacked "any grand strategic plan to cover the process of peacemaking. Planning there had been in plenty, but of a purely departmental nature, and the heads of governments had never devoted themselves to the coördination of the plans that were being made." Failure to do this was due mainly to the lack of understanding "that the task of making a satisfactory peace must call for a concentration and direction of effort on a scale equal to that previously required for the successful prosecution of the war." The author also points to the fact that the allied leaders were "amateurs in diplomacy" and that the hasty demobilization of the Anglo-American forces made the coördination of military and political strategy in the making of the peace impossible. He is especially critical of the long delay which passed between the armistices and the drafting of the peace treaties.

In the light of current events, it is of particular interest to note that Dr. Marston calls it "the biggest mistake of the Allies in the sphere of organization" that they established "the rigid and rather unwieldly Council of Ten without any steering committee of Heads of Governments to guide it." The author notes that it was only after the Supreme Council had returned to wartime procedure and had created the Councils of Four and Five that it was able to make rapid progress in its task. The conclusion seems obvious that peacemaking is a task of political creation of such magnitude that the slogans of "democracy in foreign affairs," "equal representation," and the like are not applicable. Those who will have the responsibility of maintaining the settlement must have the decisive voice in its creation.

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Current events make it unfortunately superfluous to emphasize the pertinence of Dr. Marston's book for our time. Although the difficulties which stand in the way of the conclusion of the second World War in the form of peace treaties are primarily of a political nature, appropriate handling of procedural devices can indeed achieve much in mitigating political conflicts and solving political controversies through compromise. The makers of the peace of Versailles may have been amateurs in the art of diplomacy and may have made great mistakes in organization and procedure. Yet how superior was their work from the point of view of the technique of diplomacy and peacemaking as compared with the achievements of their successors in our time! Thus Dr. Marston's masterful study gives depressing evidence of the decay of statecraft in the Western world. The conference of Versailles was an amateurish job as compared with the work the Congress of Vienna had done a hundred years before. But viewed from the perspective of 1945, the procedures of Versailles show a degree of excellence which seems to be unattainable today.

HANS J. MORGENTHAU.

University of Chicago.

America's Place in the World. By NATHANIEL PEFFER. (New York: The Viking Press. 1945. Pp. 236. $2.75.)

This book is a notable endeavor to evaluate the alternatives of international policy which confront the United States in an appallingly dangerous period of history. It begins with a brief survey of the characteristics of American diplomacy. The motives which have driven this country along in its foreign policy, particularly the desire for national security, are well treated. In the early part of the book the author writes with a sure hand as one who has carefully thought through his problems and is not unduly lured by the missionary slogans of recent years. The frequent statement that the United States has owed its safety in general and the inviolability of the Monroe Doctrine in particular to the British navy, he says, is erroneous. It was the division of Europe into antagonistic states that prevented any one of them, including Great Britain, from becoming aggressive in the Western Hemisphere. The inadequacies of economic sanctions as instruments to enforce peace are well pointed out. The impossibility of isolationism is dealt with in a broader and more convincing manner than is usually the case.

The central and latter parts of the book are devoted to examining the possibilities of American policy and to indicating the most desirable course of action. Isolation and a world state are equally out of the question, and practical considerations lead us to international organization. These chapters at times lack something in consistency, due perhaps to the new and unstable nature of the subject-matter. Thus on page 95 the author says

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that the prevention of war need only require an organ which will define international law, adjudicate violations, and execute judgments on offending nations. At this point he seems to ignore the necessity for peaceful change to eliminate the causes of war. Later, however, on pages 224–225 he states that the international organ must have power to deal fully with the causes of the ill health of international society. Regarding American policy, he states in one or two places that this country acts much as any other country acts, but on page 157 he says that in its relations with the rest of the world America can be described as a kind of monstrosity—a physical giant retarded in its political capacities.

On the whole, the book is an able attempt to solve a problem which may be too difficult for completely logical treatment. Its perusal will amply repay the reader, for it deals with the most fundamental political alternatives of our times. And some academicians may find it wholesome to read such passages as the following (on page 101) regarding the uncritical attitude held by many people some years ago toward the League of Nations: "There was something comic in the annual summer pilgrimage to Geneva, whither the devoted repaired, with eager questions to members of the permanent secretariat, who could sincerely give answers that glowed, since they had no power, and whence they returned, wide-eyed, uplifted, and twittering. And thereafter they made speeches, gave lectures, and wrote articles that could have been chapters in a political *Alice in Wonderland*."

BENJAMIN H. WILLIAMS.

Arlington, Virginia.

The Big Three; United States, Britain, and Russia. By DAVID J. DALLIN. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1945. Pp. viii, 292. $2.75.)

The author declares in his preface: "A correct evaluation of the new international situation is a pre-condition of sound policy." By implication, Mr. Dallin's study is devoted to this high purpose; but it is difficult to assess its contribution.

Factual material presented is accurate. The discussion of the foreign policies and interests of the great powers is primarily historical and descriptive; it is well done, although superficial and incomplete at several points. Interpretation is sporadic and relatively brief. Additional interpretation by a writer of Mr. Dallin's stature would have been welcome.

The book suffers also, in the judgment of the reviewer, from a lack of synthesis. No attempt is made to analyze the significance of over-all policy clashes among the Big Three. Partial synthesis is, however, achieved in the chapter on "The Powers in the Near East." Furthermore, the pattern of Chap. V ("Objectives and Aims of Soviet Policy")—one of the best in the book—is not repeated for the other two powers. In the absence of systematic treatment, American policy is woven inadequately into chapters on Britain and the Far East. Britain, incidentally, is almost

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completely omitted from the latter chapter. Mr. Dallin discusses the United States and Britain chiefly in terms of the shift in naval power. A chapter entitled "Anglo-Saxon Superstate?" leaves the reader uncertain as to the basis for such a development. The account of European aspects of British policy consists mainly in stating traditional lines of policy based on the past. The latter part of the book tends to paint the Soviet Union as the fountain-head of difficulty, and Mr. Dallin's conclusions are heavily tinged with pessimism. He is convinced that the predominance of the Big Three cannot endure; for him, real peace can be achieved only through internal revolution within each nation. But he does not develop the point.

Tracing lines of policy over time may or may not be fruitful; it may actually be misleading. The important complicating factor at present is that historical policies, interests, and power positions have been suddenly and irrevocably subjected to change. A wholly new power relationship among the Big Three and between the Big Three and the rest of the world has emerged. What will follow, or ought to follow, from this, Mr. Dallin does not make clear. Surely more is involved than a shift in naval strength, Russian interests in Eastern Europe and Chinese Communism, and oil or nationalism in the Near East—especially if these are considered in isolation.

The layman can read this book with profit. The expert may find more enticement in the title than satisfaction in the text.

RICHARD C. SNYDER.

Columbia University.

North Atlantic Triangle. BY JOHN BARTLET BREBNER. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1945. Pp. xx, 385. $4.00.)

This volume is the last in the series sponsored by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History, dealing with the political, economic, and cultural relations between the United States and Canada. As a concluding monograph, it is particularly suitable, for in it Professor Brebner has presented in broad strokes a penetrating analysis of the relations, both economic and political, among Canada, the United States, and the third point in the triangle, Great Britain. A somewhat disproportionate amount of space may seem to have been devoted to Canada and to the Canadian position, but this is justified by reason of the relatively scant treatment of Canadian affairs found in many of the studies of Anglo-American relations.

Professor Brebner's method is historical. The whole story of the relationship of the English-speaking peoples of North America, together with the interplay of their interests with those of Great Britain, is unfolded from the colonial period, through the struggles for self-government and dominion status in Canada, into the period of World War II. From this survey certain conclusions of the author stand out as particularly

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noteworthy. The cornerstone of Canadian foreign policy is found to have been the fostering of Anglo-American friendship. In many instances, Dominion interests have been sacrificed to this end, as, for example, in the settlement of the Alaskan boundary in 1903. However, this has been but part of the price Canada has paid for the luxury of independence from her neighbor to the south, another part being the acceptance of a somewhat lower standard of living.

Professor Brebner further demonstrates that economic factors, as well as cultural affinity, have helped to weld a coöperative relationship among the three powers. Canada and the United States are portrayed as "Siamese twins who cannot live without each other" (p. 241). To the world they may appear as rivals, but their economies are complementary. Moreover, Great Britain is drawn into close association through the fact that Canada has normally purchased more from the United States than she has sold to her and has paid the balance with sterling credits which materialized from selling more to Great Britain than she bought from her. Indeed, the natural economic ties are found to be so strong that the author states that "the whole apparatus of tariffs, quotas, and preferential duties among these nations, plus the exclusions, diversions, and enhanced prices of goods which it has produced, has been far less important than the irresistible flood of goods which have flowed 'through, by, or over' those nationalistic locks, dams, and weirs" (p. 239).

The annexationist movement in the United States, an almost constant irritant in our relations with Canada, reached a peak in Fenianism after the Civil War and played a major rôle, together with "Little Englandism" sentiment in Great Britain, in the establishment of Canadian federalism. It was not until near the end of the nineteenth century that Canada became secure against "falling as a ripe plum" into the hands of the United States. That security was gained by Canada in large part through perfecting a railway system which tied together her transcontinental economy and through demonstrating that she could sell her wheat profitably in the world market.

In view of the present need for close coöperation among the three major English-speaking powers, in both the political and economic spheres, Professor Brebner's concluding chapters are very timely. The consequences, domestic and international, of the economic and political isolationism followed by the United States after the close of World War I are strongly stated. Repetition of such policies now would be disastrous.

The volume contains nearly forty excellent maps and diagrams, some of which have appeared in earlier volumes in the series. In addition, there is a valuable analytical bibliography.

CROMWELL A. RICHES.

U. S. Department of Commerce.

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The International Control of Radiocommunications. By JOHN D. TOMLINSON. (Ann Arbor, Mich.: J. W. Edwards. 1945. Pp. 314.)

Originally presented as a dissertation at the University of Geneva, Mr. John D. Tomlinson's study on the international control of radiocommunications presents a full review of the regulatory system in the world of telecommunications. While the author does not cover the developments during the recent years of war, he has treated in detail the earlier conferences as well as the 1932 Madrid meeting and the last general conference at Cairo in 1938. The publication of the work at this time, is most appropriate, since it provides much useful background for understanding the issues which will arise in the international conference to be held in the near future in order to reconsider existing regulations in this field. Extensive preparations have been made within the last two years by the United States Department of State in anticipation of this meeting.

Mr. Tomlinson's study emphasizes the problem of international control, although he is necessarily forced to investigate with considerable thoroughness the technical questions involved in radio transmission. Since radio waves do not respect national frontiers and no national legislation is capable of controlling them, the query naturally arises: Has a true form of international government been achieved in this area? The author concludes that present regulations offer a real hope and an ideal in this direction. For present international conventions are generally respected and observed in practice—whether or not they include provisions for international enforcement. We encounter here a field of international coöperation where technological necessities have been so overriding that the usual legal difficulties involved in achieving international action are relegated to the background. Disputes have usually been resolved on technical grounds, since it is so imperative that services continue on an uninterrupted schedule.

The author does not neglect to point out that international radio regulations have directly and indirectly affected important economic and political interests. But he has shown that the character of radio itself impels international control, and the harmonization of the varied and conflicting interests—both public and private—which has been accomplished under present regulations is an achievement of great importance. It appears obvious that international regulation in this and other analogous technological fields must greatly increase in the years ahead. Intensified developments in radio communications produced during the war and future problems of allocating frequencies would only seem to reinforce Mr. Tomlinson's conclusions.

The present study does not analyze what are today two questions of increasing interest in this area—monopoly in the field of American radio communication services and the freer distribution of news information

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throughout the world. But Mr. Tomlinson's first chapters will repay those who are now concerned with the practical question before American technicians, officials, and private interests with respect to the advisability of achieving greater monopoly in radio communications. Whereas the threat of monopoly before World War I led toward regulatory steps, radio's extensive development today may in turn necessitate further integration of our national services. Judgments must be made about these two issues, however, on the basis of the experience which Mr. Tomlinson has surveyed.

GRANT S. MCCLELLAN.

Foreign Policy Association.

Europe Free and United. BY ALBERT GUÉRARD. (Stanford University, California: Stanford University Press. 1945. Pp. xi, 206. $2.50.)

Professor Guérard's is among the most recent volumes to be added to the already substantial literature discussing international organization on a regional basis, particularly for Europe. The writer distinguishes himself from his predecessors in the field largely by his insistence that the traditional European state system must not form the basis of a European federation, and that that federation must be the framework within which postwar reconstruction is to take place. He asserts that the European war has so disrupted the life of the countries which came under German domination that even the ties of national feeling and national loyalty no longer exist. Consequently, any attempt to reconstruct Europe on prewar political or geographical lines would be even less satisfactory and of shorter duration than the settlement made after World War I. Professor Guérard therefore concludes that the moment is ripe for the inauguration of a European federation in which previous national frontiers will at best represent nothing more than the boundaries of provinces within the larger union.

It is indeed a courageous man who will undertake, at the present time, to speak for all the peoples of Europe. This Professor Guérard does with an assurance which cannot but arouse wonder in more cautious souls. Many will no doubt ask on what grounds he bases his assertion that, if left to themselves, the peoples of Europe would prefer European federation to the restoration of their prewar national homes. Some may well point out that the evidence seems to indicate a strengthening, rather than a weakening, of national spirit in the peoples of Europe during their years of agony. Certainly, developments in the liberated countries hardly seem to support Professor Guérard as spokesman for all Europe.

And what is to be the United States' policy toward Europe during the period of reconstruction? On the one hand, Professor Guérard states categorically: "We want not to interfere in the political strife within each

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country nor in the envenomed quarrels between the various countries in Europe." On the other, he is equally clear that the United States must assure to the peoples of Europe the conditions under which they are to establish a European federation at once. It is difficult to see how, with the best will in the world, the United States can accomplish the latter objective without violating the former injunction.

To discuss at length the author's detailed proposals for the effectuation of a European union now would be an act of supererogation. Professor Guérard's book has suffered the fate of so many of its kind; events have outstripped its usefulness. While the principle of European federation which he endorses will continue to be championed by many, it is highly doubtful whether his suggestions for its activation would ever have received the serious consideration even of the peoples of Europe for whom he claims to speak.

DOROTHY B. MCCOWN.

Bryn Mawr College.

Eastern Europe Between the Wars, 1918–1941. By HUGH SETON-WATSON. (Cambridge: At the University Press. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1945. Pp. xv, 442. $6.50.)

The author, son of the well-known Professor R. W. Seton-Watson, presents in the book under review in 442 extremely closely printed pages a survey, based on five years of study, of Eastern Europe in the period from 1918 to 1941. Originally, he wanted to write a scientific work, based on all the sources; but this he found impossible because of the war. The book is, therefore, written without quotations or references and contains no bibliography. But it is based on the author's travels, conversations with the people, newspapers, and a full study of the available works in English, German, and French. The author also has a knowledge of most Eastern European languages.

Eastern Europe is a belt of countries, stretching between Germany and Russia; it is inhabited by more than fifteen different peoples, most of them politically and economically rather backward; all have a long, turbulent history; and while Poland and Hungary are "historical nations," the others, while at various times in the past enjoying a period of glory and empire, today are weak, divided, and inexperienced. All are today strongly nationalistic, with sometimes imperialistic ambitions; most of the number have been, since antiquity, a battle-ground of the rival imperialisms of Great Powers.

From the states which undoubtedly belong to Eastern Europe, the author excludes the Baltic republics, Albania, Greece, and Turkey, although mentioning them occasionally. He studies six states. Poland, Yugoslavia, Rumania, and Bulgaria certainly are part of Eastern Europe.

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The case of Hungary is more doubtful. The inclusion of Czechoslovakia seems to this writer unjustified. This industrialized, progressive, democratic country is rather Central-European, a part of the Western World; the author himself has, in practically every chapter, to contrast Czechoslovakia with the other five countries or except it from his general remarks on Eastern Europe. Austria, most certainly not belonging to Eastern Europe, is correctly not included.

The author's aim in writing this book was primarily to inform Britain and its people, mostly wholly ignorant of the things of Eastern Europe. And although a part of the population of the United States has come from this portion of the world, the book certainly will fulfill a mission by giving information to this country too.

In its task of imparting information, the book must be considered highly successful, because of the author's broad and, at the same time, detailed treatment of the different problems, because of the correctness and reliability of his statements, and, last but not least, because of the writer's complete objectivity and impartiality.

The first three chapters trace the political, social, and ideological history of the countries of Eastern Europe from antiquity to the present day. As most of Eastern Europe is agricultural, a long chapter is devoted to the peasantry and to a study and critical valuation of land reforms. The next chapter studies the problems of industrialization; the importance of the landholding aristocracy, bourgeoisie, and proletariat; chauvinism and anti-semitism; illiteracy and education. A study of administration and bureaucracy, and of the political systems of democracy and dictatorship, follows. Then the author traces in detail the internal political history of the six states from 1918 to 1941. An excellent discussion of the problem of minorities follows. Special consideration is given to German and Jewish minorities, and to the problems of Transylvania and Macedonia.

That imperialism is not necessarily restricted to great powers, is shown in the chapter dealing with Polish, Hungarian, Greek, and Balkan imperialisms. Finally, international history from 1918 to 1941 is covered: the system of French alliances, the Little Entente, the Balkan Entente, and the break-up of this whole system; Italian imperialism toward Albania, Yugoslavia, and Greece, and the later Italian combination with Austria and Hungary; the German political and economic drive into Eastern Europe after 1934; the establishment of dictatorship in Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania, and Greece, as well as in Yugoslavia. The last chapter of this historical part analyzes the relations of the Great Powers with Eastern Europe.

As to the future, the author correctly holds that the idea of an Eastern European Federation is utopian. The betterment of these countries must come from internal reforms, improvement of agriculture, industrialization

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on non-artificial lines, improvement of transport, credit, and public works, land reform in Poland and Hungary, reform of the systems of government, reforms in education away from chauvinism. But this betterment cannot come without the help of the "Big Three" and without free immigration into the oversea-countries.

Since the book was finished at the beginning of 1944, the author could not foresee or predict the settlements which will be made after the war. But in what he has to say about these matters, he shows the same impartiality, sense of justice, and fair play as in the book generally. While mindful of British interests, e.g., in Greece, he clearly sees the enormous ascendancy of Russia, with which Britain must continue closest friendship. He clearly sees that France, although seemingly exercising hegemony over Europe after 1918, had actually been since 1871 "only a second class power," that there is in Europe proper only one potential great power, Germany, followed by two medium powers, France and Italy. He foresees that the United States will be the most powerful state of the world.

He stands for continued protection of minorities and is opposed to population exchange or expulsion, "which should be regarded, not as a triumph of statesmanship, but as a dismal confession of human failure" (p. 276). He advocates great consideration for Poland in the peace settlement, defends common justice for Hungary, states that "if German industrial power is systematically destroyed, this will lead to such a transformation of the face of the European Continent that no attempt can be made to foresee the consequences (p. 417), and warns (p. 351) that "no wild schemes of partition can do anything but harm."

JOSEF L. KUNZ.

University of Toledo.

Germany Between Two Wars; A Study of Propaganda and War Guilt. BY LINDLEY FRASER. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1945. Pp. 184. $2.50.)

Professor Fraser, of Aberdeen University and the British Broadcasting Corporation, has performed a very useful service in compiling a counter-argument against the main myths and legends of recent German political folklore. The author has had the unusual advantage of testing his ideas and explanations in the laboratory of direct broadcasts to the German people through the facilities of the B.B.C. The purpose of writing the book, meant for a German audience even more than for the Anglo-American public, was to provide factual refutation of German political myths both before and during the Nazi régime, and it is the author's hope that, in addition, British and American officers who will have to deal with German affairs in the coming years of occupation and administration will

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be made aware of the intellectual background of the people they are to govern.

First, Professor Fraser takes up what was probably the most widely accepted myth in Germany: that the German army was not beaten in 1918, and that surrender was due to the "stab-in-the-back" of the subversive elements at home. The failure to insist on unconditional surrender in 1918, and the even more serious failure of not occupying all of Germany (as General Pershing urged), contributed their share in fostering the legend that the German army was not militarily defeated in 1918. When Hitler inserted in the Franco-German armistice of June, 1940, the lie that Germany had not been beaten in 1918, he expressed a deep conviction of millions of Germans. In particular, Professor Fraser does an excellent job in exposing the manipulations of the German General Staff in absolving themselves from all responsibility and attributing defeat to the civilian population through the fabrication of the stab-in-the-back legend. In the sordid history of German militarism, there is little that can be surpassed in sheer trickery.

German propaganda of the interwar years never failed to complain of the "hunger blockade" that the Allies allegedly imposed upon Germany after the Armistice. Some anti-Nazi Germans have even had the temerity to explain the growth of Nazism, the establishment of Buchenwald and Majdanek, as results of that alleged hunger blockade. Professor Fraser clarifies the facts for those who have heard only the German side of the story, which group includes a fair share of British and American students of politics.

What Professor Fraser has to say about the Treaty of Versailles is most elementary, but perennially timely. No piece of political salesmanship was so successful in the history of international propaganda as the German campaign against the treaty in the interwar years. Strangely enough, liberal writers in England and the United States (but not in France) were more than helpful in the pan-German campaign directed against Versailles. While that treaty was by no means perfect, it compared favorably with previous peace settlements; and, as it was based on Western standards, the German militarists and war-makers were the last to complain against that treaty in the name of humanitarian standards that they openly despised when victory seemed to smile on them. The treaty of Brest-Litovsk in March, 1918, gave the world an idea of German conceptions of humanitarianism, and if any doubts were still left, the treatment of occupied Europe in World War II and the mass murder of millions of people in Europe removed those doubts about a German peace.

The years 1933–45, when the Nazi movement controlled the government of the Reich, were the heyday of German propaganda. In the nineteen-twenties, official militaristic propaganda was occasionally exposed by

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men like Carl von Ossietzky (although the price of such exposures was imprisonment or death, even under the Weimar republic). After 1933, whatever still voices might have spoken could no longer be heard in the orchestra of hate directed by Dr. Goebbels. The relieving feature about dictators like Mussolini or Franco was the fact that they were normal enough not to believe their own lies, although they were more than willing to use lies for political purposes. What made the late Fuehrer such a nuisance to the world was the fact that he not only was able to manufacture colossal lies, but eventually believed in them.

In the last chapter, Professor Fraser raises the interesting question as to what Germans will think about responsibility for the second World War in the years to come, and how they will contrive to prepare for another war, if given the chance to do so. He stresses the guilt of the Western powers in permitting the Germans to become a nation of aggressors only twenty years after defeat in the first World War, although this point could have been better worked out and more fully corroborated.

Professor Fraser's book is to be issued also in a German edition. It is to be hoped that the Germans will learn from its record that *Luegen haben kurze Beine*, and that the net result of Nazism and popular militarism in Germany makes Versailles appear as a paradise to be dreamed of, but not soon attained.

WILLIAM EBENSTEIN.

University of Wisconsin.

The German Record: A Political Portrait. By WILLIAM EBENSTEIN. (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc. 1945. Pp. x, 334.)

To those of us who, for the last thirty years, have had to ponder the German problem and its solution, it has always been inexplicable why German liberalism, which showed such apparent promise twice within the past century, in 1848 and 1919 actually failed of fruition. *The German Record* goes far toward supplying the explanation. Our basis of judgment has been, on the whole, too superficial, our estimate of the strength of underlying forces too generous on the Liberal, too grudging on the Conservative, side of the ledger. The time has now come for a historic reckoning and balancing of accounts. To that end, Ebenstein's work is a real contribution. Yet in a sense the sub-title is misleading; the work is more than political—it is psychological and sociological, economic and ideological, as well. And, importantly, it has both perspective and focus.

By going back, in Part I, to the origins of the Prussian state and depicting, over a sufficiently long time-span, the recurrent pattern of authoritarianism, Ebenstein has given depth—the necessary third dimension—to the portrait. The first three chapters, dealing respectively with "The Foundations of German Politics," "State and Society," and "Prus-

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sia," constitute as illuminating and convincing an analysis as this reviewer has ever seen of the dynamic and static forces at work in the Europe that emerged from the northern part of the Holy Roman Empire. The portrait, in its starker outlines, seems, at first sight, almost overdrawn. But the succeeding chapters, in Part II, dealing with the impact of the French Revolution and the Revolution of 1848 on the Frederician tradition, and with the triumph of authority in the Bismarckian era, highlight events, trends, and influences—particularly the servility of the middle classes—in such a fashion as to intensify the initial delineation and add the complementary detail and color.

A trenchant chapter on "Government by Warfare" possesses integrative value in bringing under a common rubric the apparently discrete policies followed domestically against Catholics and Socialists, internationally against France and Britain. Further probing into the deeper recesses of the German spirit brings to light a malignant anti-semitism which was neither new nor superficial when Hitler came to power, and a disdain for non-German peoples which was uniform, whether practiced in Africa under Bismarck or in Czechoslovakia by Von Neurath.

Perhaps Ebenstein's most useful service is performed in his treatment of "The Republican Experiment" in Weimar Germany. With Social Democrats in the foreground and the German General Staff in the background, and plots, conspiracies, assassinations, and paramilitary formations in the wings of the political stage, "political murder remained a customary occurrence in Germany throughout the Weimar Republic," while one-man government steadily grew. This recapitulates in a single sentence the principal causes why constitutional government, in Germany, never became a reality.

The concluding part of the volume, dealing with German Politics, World Peace, and Democracy, endeavors to bring dramatically home to the American people the realities of German ideology and power, the shortsightedness of becoming maudlin toward Germany-in-defeat, and the necessity of remaining firm friends of our wartime allies. This the author does with ardor and power, with punch and polemic, concluding that the solution of the German menace is essentially a problem of political will and that we shall sow the seeds of discord and hostility among all our allies in Europe if we try to impose upon them, by virtue of our financial and military resources, a German policy based on the contact that Kansas City has had with the Gestapo and the SS, rather than that of the inhabitants of Paris, Warsaw, Rotterdam, Belgrade, Athens, and Barcelona (p. 270).

With considerable perspicacity, Ebenstein outlines a program for dealing with Germany which anticipates in large part the Potsdam Agreement. He is, however, completely skeptical as to the possibilities of an early democratization of the Reich, owing to its lack of a vital democratic

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tradition, the emigration of liberalism, the weakening of the middle classes, and the stigma which has historically associated democracy with defeat. Yet it is the author's conclusion that only by a belief in the eventual mutability of Germans can a prospect of peaceful symbiosis with the West be expected. To this reviewer, the tempo of our times would seem to preclude even the chance for so long a period of accommodation.

MALBONE W. GRAHAM.

University of California at Los Angeles.

The Moral Conquest of Germany. BY EMIL LUDWIG. (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc. 1945. Pp. 183. $2.00.)

This book insists upon very harsh treatment, and a hard peace, for the Germans, in order to induce them "to search their hearts and try to change." Ludwig's recommendations for dealing with Germany are: partition of her territory into several political and economic units; radical disarmament forever, including the verbot of playing with tin soldiers and other military toys; policing at least until 1960, and with some permanent control afterwards; lowered standard of living and export of labor; burning of all Nazi and similar literature; verbot for Germans to travel abroad; no return of Jews to Germany; white as the national German flag; verbot of all uniforms of any kind in any field; verbot to teach the right of national defense; no smiles at Germans; no hand-shaking with them; cold politeness, but no chivalry, towards German women. The necessity for such treatment is derived from the historical record of the Germans as Mr. Ludwig presents it. Even Czarist Russia, we are told, was somewhat ahead of Prussia-Germany—a surprising revelation, since Prussia (and Imperial Germany on the whole) was once a haven for many Russian political emigrés. Probably nobody remembers a democratic exile ever fleeing into Czarist Russia.

The book emphasizes rightly and strongly the danger of extreme nationalism and racialism; and there is little doubt that up to now this mass hysteria has found its wildest and most barbarous expression in Germany. However, we may wonder whether it is helpful to overlook or to minimize the democratic and anti-militaristic forces in Germany as completely as Emil Ludwig does. No reader of this book will learn that since 1903 one-third, and sometimes even more, of all Germans voted for a social democratic republic. In addition, there were essential liberal and Roman Catholic groups which were at least critical of the Imperial policy. In 1908, the Reichstag censured the Emperor so severely that he considered abdication. We hear from Mr. Ludwig nothing about the pre-Hitler youth movement, which was not militaristic and has wide international influence up to this day. There is no mention of the fact that the Roman Catholic Church in Germany was less nationalistic and much more democratic and socially progressive than the church in Spain, France, and Austria.

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Nothing is said about the spectacular, and very successful, struggle of German workers for social security, economic democracy, and labor education. The real problem for democracy everywhere is, how to prevent totalitarian dictatorship from crushing such hopeful democratic evolution. Unfortunately, the deep crisis of modern democracy is not only a German problem, and therefore cannot be overcome by worrying exclusively about the "character" of the German "race." Among the very few Germans whose qualities are upheld by Ludwig are Nietzsche and Bismarck, and rightly so, because both the philosopher and the chancellor were victims of an all-too-simplified war propaganda from our side. Nietzsche's "superman" is not a vision of racialism, and the German nation was the last in which Nietzsche would have sought for world leadership. Bismarck was a Prussian reactionary in domestic policy, but in foreign affairs he showed genuine and peace-promoting statesmanship. That meant, after he had reached his goal, Germany's unification without Austria. It is erroneous to see in Bismarck an imperialist and permanent aggressor. After 1871, he never showed any interest in German expansion. He was even opposed to German colonies. It is meritorious that Mr. Ludwig attacks the popular misrepresentations of Nietzsche and Bismarck; and after one has read, for 173 pages, that at present practically all Germans are unworthy of trust, one suddenly comes across the following sentence: "The fifty thousand elementary and high school teachers needed for the school life of a nation of sixty million can still be found among decent and democratic fairly young men and women in Germany." If this is correct, and this reviewer believes it is, why should one not find many thousand democratic people in other groups of Germany's society also?

It is unfortunate that the book contains numerous mistakes, which any instructor in modern German history could have corrected. For instance, Walther Rathenau is mentioned twice as "head" of the German government. He was foreign minister in the cabinet of Chancellor Wirth, who certainly was no figure-head. German soldiers did not serve three years, but the vast majority of them only two; indeed, all boys with six grades of high school training had—under the Emperor—the privilege of serving only one year. For some strange reason, Ludwig quotes literally in the same sentence and on the same level Thomas Mann and Adolf Hitler as abominable examples of German nationalism and militarism. But this method is characteristic of the book. The volume is far from presenting a balanced, scholarly judgment, but rather is a clever piece of political propaganda. Even as such, it may be already out of date, because the crisis of our political and social systems is more and more recognized as a world-wide disease and not a local infection.

WILLIAM F. SOLLMANN.

Pendle Hill Graduate Center.

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China Fights On. By Pan Chao-ying (Stephen C. Y. Pan). (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. 1945. Pp. 188. $2.50.)

China's Crisis. By Lawrence K. Rosinger. (New York: A. A. Knopf. 1945. Pp. xii, 259, xiii. $3.00.)

Here are books by two competent writers, one a Chinese and the other an American, designed to provide useful information for that part of our reading public seeking to understand the position and probable future of China in world affairs. The author of the first, who accompanied the Lytton Commission into Manchuria in 1932, and who has since been an eloquent spokesman for his country's cause, tells the story of China's resistance to Japanese aggression as part of the world-wide struggle against totalitarianism. The second writer, observing the scene at long range, turns the spot-light on China's internal situation and analyzes the political, military, and economic difficulties which have impaired the nation's war effort and now becloud its post-war development.

In Part I of his book, Dr. Pan outlines briefly the strategic importance of Manchuria and United States policy toward this area prior to 1931 and traces the course of Japanese activity during the years immediately after the Mukden "incident." Part II is devoted to Japan's "Far Eastern Monroe Doctrine" and to Japanese aggression in China from July 7, 1937, to Pearl Harbor. Part III takes up the story of Pearl Harbor with its prelude and consequences; while Part IV discusses China's contributions to the cause of the United Nations, together with China's war objectives and post-war aspirations.

The author informs us in his preface that portions of the volume were presented as lectures to graduate students at the Catholic University of America; and to the present reviewer the entire work has the flavor of collected lectures somewhat hastily put into shape for publication. The style is easy and, although various authorities are cited, there is little documentation; the historical treatment is extremely sketchy; and the sequence of events is sometimes confused. Last minute revisions and added footnotes while the book was in page proof bring it up to date on certain points, but the time would have been better spent in more careful proofreading, which might have eliminated a number of serious errors, some typographical and others factual.

Mr. Rosinger, who has been a serious student of Far Eastern affairs for the past ten or twelve years, has worked along very different lines. His book also is divided into four parts dealing, successively, with "Political Crossroads," "Fighting Fronts," "Economic Crisis," and "China's Place in the World," and the emphasis, except in Part IV, is entirely upon China's domestic problems. Although the author has never been in China, he has learned Chinese and is able to use Chinese source materials. He has

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employed the best available sources, although sometimes the sources available were not very good; and his work is thoroughly documented.

Mr. Rosinger's analysis of the causes of China's present political, economic, and military weakness is sound and, if pitilessly objective, is motivated throughout by a genuine desire to help the Chinese to assume their proper place among the great nations of the world. In some of his diagnoses and in some of his proposed solutions, however, he demonstrates the fact that "good will" and "sympathy" are not synonymous, that even a broad acquaintance among Chinese students in this country is not an adequate substitute for some first-hand contact with the Chinese people on their native heath. Believing that the Chinese Communists would give their country a government which would meet the approval of most American liberals, he tends to favor Yenan in its struggle with Chungking. But the mass of the Chinese people are not American liberals; they are Chinese, and any successful government for China must be rooted in their traditions, beliefs, and prejudices.

Despite the criticisms noted above—which merely indicate the difficulty inherent in any attempt to write current history—both books are valuable contributions to the literature of the field, and both deserve to be widely read.

G. Nye Steiger.

Simmons College.

The Japanese Nation; A Social Survey. By John F. Embree. (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc. 1945. Pp. xi, 308. Text ed. $2.25; trade ed. $3.00.)

The author of *Suye Mura*, an invaluable study of village life in Japan, has, in this second work, provided a thoughtful, comprehensive, lucidly-written handbook on Japan's social order. Dr. Embree devotes his two lengthiest chapters to governmental structure and religion, but he writes more briefly upon the historical background, economic and social organization, education, communications, the family, culture patterns, and national attitudes. He includes also ten very useful maps and charts, five appendices, one of which is the text of the constitution, and an index. Thus the book is well-designed to serve as an introductory text.

The social order of Japan is presented as one dependent upon industry, though still retaining a large rural, rice-growing population. The feudal heritage is shown to have continued influence, but to be losing ground to the forces of science, business, and political centralization. The rapid transition to a Westernized economic system is regarded as the key to the wars with China and Russia and to the entrance of Japan into the second World War. The government is viewed as cognizant of economic strains among the several classes of workers, and as more concerned than the

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reviewer had believed to effect relief. Dr. Embree is a contributor to our perception of economic conditions in pointing to features of group action which stretch low incomes and render tolerable, and even pleasant, the lives of peasants and town workers. He stresses also the degree to which advancement in the social scale is open to talent. Bureaucratic control of education, however, militates against parallel progress in the social sciences and appreciation of democratic institutions.

Political scientists will be interested not only in the author's explanation of governmental structure and functions but also in his treatment of the relation between religion and government. His realistic approach to the mingling of Buddhism, State Shinto, and popular Shinto in the actual beliefs and practices of the masses is enlightening. He deserves attention to his caution against Western over-exaggeration of the political power of the emperor.

Aside from a few ambiguities, such as the statements that "a degree from certain universities . . . is almost a sure passport into the civil service," that there is an "absence from the constitution of anything resembling a bill of rights," and that "the position of the prime minister has become stronger since he is no longer dependent on party affiliations for the backing of his policies," the reviewer would criticize only the consistent misuse of the word "interpolation" for "interpellation."

HAROLD S. QUIGLEY.

University of Minnesota.

Strangers in India. BY PENDEREL MOON. (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock. 1945. Pp. vii, 184. $2.00.)

The author is an Englishman who spent nearly fifteen years in India as an official. For a good part of the time, he was an administrative officer in various districts, and this brought him in close touch with the peasants who make up four-fifths of the population. Mr. Moon would appear to be a somewhat idealistic liberal, with a strong desire to abolish poverty and promote self-government. At the same time, he is a shrewd and realistic observer, and this leads him to draw some remarkably un-liberal conclusions.

Mr. Moon believes that the vast bulk of the Indians do not understand or want democracy, and that elections are a farce. The peasants feel, as they always have done, that government comes from above, and that the duty of the common man is to obey orders. Most of the nationalist leaders also do not want democracy; their real desire is self-government, which is something entirely different. "Really we [the Indians] are aspiring to those posts of influence and power which you English have been for so long enjoying; and at the same time we would like to feel that we are not subject to any foreign domination."

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The author's opinion of Gandhi's Congress party is not flattering. The party is a congeries of discordant elements, held together only by the common desire to substitute Congress for British rule. When this goal is attained, it will fall apart. Gandhi's archaistic policy of replacing modern machine civilization with the primitive, self-sufficing village community is bound to fail. Nehru and the socialist wing of Congress will be unable to carry out their programme of collectivizing agriculture and nationalizing industry. The peasants will not give up their land, and the Socialists do not have the organization, the money, or the popular support to succeed. The future lies with the big industrialists and the traders and shopkeepers who are the backbone of Congress today. "Money is their god, and . . . those big Hindu capitalists have no sympathy with the masses. They simply want to exploit them."

The conclusion is drawn that benevolent despotism, as exemplified by the Indian princes at their best, is far more suitable than exotic parliamentary democracy. The tradition of personal rule is tremendously strong in India; and the enlightened despots who rule many of the big states have the loyalty of their people. "At present, even in the more progressive states, the stage of political development is not much in advance of Tudor England," and the rulers "are not behind the needs and wishes of the bulk of their subjects."

The author regards the deadlock between Hindus and Moslems as the principal cause of the failure to complete the work of establishing Indian self-government. It is a struggle for government posts and power between two different sections of the upper and middle classes, who threaten to tear India to pieces between them. Mr. Moon believes that the Congress attempt to establish single party rule in 1937–39 is responsible for the present dangerous situation.

This book will not be popular among supporters of Gandhi's Congress party. They will not find it easy, however, to present a factual rebuttal of the picture that it draws.

LENNOX A. MILLS.

University of Minnesota.

Evolution of the Dutch Nation. By BERNARD H. M. VLEKKE. (New York: Roy Publishers. 1945. Pp. xi, 377. $3.50.)

The Netherlands and the United States. By BERNARD H. M. VLEKKE. (Boston: World Peace Foundation. 1945. Pp. 96. $0.25.)

On the ground that the *Evolution of the Dutch Nation* contains "no long chronology of rulers or immaterial dates, no ponderous recital where the true picture of a nation is obscured by detail," the publishers declare this to be "a new and different kind of history." An announcement such as this is hardly fair to the author, for as a "kind of history" it is neither new

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nor different; hundreds of "histories" omit a recital of rulers and dates which are immaterial. In the foreword, Dr. Vlekke states simply that "in writing this history of the genesis and growth of the Dutch nation, I have assumed that the American reader would prefer to a mere narrative of Dutch history, an interpretation of the events and forces that brought the Dutch nation into being and determined its world-embracing activity in past ages and the present time." That Dr. Vlekke has accomplished his objective, and that he has produced a solid, scholarly, and readable piece of work, is obvious.

Again, in the foreword, Dr. Vlekke says: "I have taken it for granted that the main facts of Dutch history are known to the American public." This is a pretty compliment the validity of which is doubtful. This reviewer found it necessary to consult Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic* quite frequently in order to fill in the gaps and keep the story straight. With little knowledge of Dutch history, the "average reader" (foreword) of Dr. Vlekke will find himself deep in a morass of strange names and places and allusions to trends and events of which he knows little or nothing. Thus, this work is best suited for the reader who is familiar not alone with the general outlines of Dutch history, but with European history in general.

With broad sweeps of his brush, the author covers the whole of Dutch history from the speculative pre-historic period down to and including World War II. He relates the story of the political, economic, and social unification of the country, its rise and fall as a great power, the establishment of its enormous overseas empire. In recent centuries, it is the story of the problems of a small but courageous nation in the presence of powerful neighbors. Throughout the book, Dr. Vlekke gives considerable attention to the growth of governmental institutions and political parties as manifestations of a democratic tradition. This tradition, so deeply ingrained in the Hollanders, is still at work; in fact, the democratic tradition acquired new strength when the country was overrun by panzer divisions, the German secret police, and oppression. "The thoroughness of the Dutch" says Dr. Vlekke, "their prudence in action, their unshakable confidence in their own conception of the good life, their deep religious faith, their Erasmian tradition of tolerance, their yearning for social justice, their abhorrence of vain display" (p. 358), will be the foundations upon which the Netherlands will be rebuilt.

The Netherlands and the United States consists of five chapters, the second of which briefly covers the subject-matter of the title. The remainder of the pamphlet deals largely with the structure of the Netherlands kingdom and its postwar problems, political and economic. As Leland M. Goodrich says in the preface, "while our relations with the Great Powers bulk large at the present time . . . we must not close one eye to the im-

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portance, particularly in time of peace, of the smaller states. Of these, by more standards than one, the Netherlands is among the most important" (p. iii). This pamphlet should contribute to improve American undertanding of the significance of the Netherlands to ourselves and to the world.

C. GORDON POST.

Vassar College.

BRIEFER NOTICES

AMERICAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

In these challenging postwar years when the very life of the globe cries out for constructive adjustments, the problem of the staggering public debts, even after liberal allowance has been made for the now enormous accumulated public assets, is a cause of serious alarm, with no clear agreement on either the theory or the practice of meeting it. William Withers' small volume, *The Public Debt* (John Day Co., 1945, pp. viii, 110, $1.75), "is an attempt to direct public debt thinking from extremist views" to the middle way where the public debt is neither a social dead weight nor a blessed panacea, but a planned and controlled mechanism to assist in the achievement of full production and full employment under a mixed economy of private and judicious public investment within a democratic political framework. The author believes that "the only serious evils that we have to fear after the war are the twin evils of *under-investment* and *over-saving*," to which are traceable the major causes of "severe depressions," "revolutionary tendencies," and "government spending." Private business will not always absorb all the savings, especially in time of great emergencies, and the government takes up the slack to prevent inflation. In times of depression, the government acts to stimulate consumer demand. And there are always certain long-time, self-liquidating essential public projects for the government to undertake. Thus the soundly planned and well-managed public debt, implemented with a scheme of progressive taxation and a policy of keeping the bonds out of the hands of speculators, becomes also a very useful instrument in the redistribution of wealth. This middle course, whether right or wrong, seems with certainty to be the one that will be followed in the coming years. A small book with an incredibly extensive coverage of the controversial subject of public debts.—ARNOLD J. LIEN.

During the war, cities found it necessary to defer many municipal activities, and to operate with a reduced personnel. Rising costs of operation were generally offset by increased revenues. Cities in or near war activities had acute problems of housing, health, recreation, transportation, and civilian defense. End of the war will improve the personnel situation and allow attention to deferred maintenance and new construction. Im-

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provement and expansion of existing services, and addition of new services, will be the challenge of the day. *Planning for Postwar Municipal Services* (The International City Managers' Association, 1945, pp. 90, $2.00) seeks to assist cities in analyzing their problems and in developing sound policies for postwar services. Sixteen articles, originally published in *Public Management* between January, 1944, and April, 1945, constitute separate chapters in this report. Prepared by leading authorities in municipal administration, these articles deal with the subjects of organization and management, finance, personnel, planning, health, housing, recreation, fire, police, public safety, transit, air transportation, public works, utilities, education, and libraries. A list of selected references is given at the conclusion of each chapter. The authors of the several chapters review existing programs, evaluate current trends, outline municipal needs, comment on the adequacy of facilities and services, and point out the gains from wartime experience. Emphasis is directed to problems of organization and procedure, to standards of performance, and to the techniques of management. How to plan and what to plan receive major attention. City administrators will find this report a most valuable manual in the solution of the problems now confronting them.—FRANK M. STEWART.

One finds in *The Missouri Plan for the Selection of Judges* (University of Missouri Studies, 1945, pp. 114, $1.25), by Jack W. Peltason, more than a mere discussion of the organization and operation of this innovation in state government. There is a review of the struggle a hundred years earlier to establish the plan for popular election of judges in Missouri. The author, in addition, presents evidence to show that for at least thirty years there has been a growing dissatisfaction with the present method of judicial selection in most states. The study itself is an excellent case study of the organization and functioning of a successful reform or pressure group. The Missouri plan provides for commissions to be composed of lawyers elected by lawyers and non-lawyers appointed by the governor. Vacancies in judicial offices are to be filled by appointment by the governor from a list of three names submitted to him by a judicial commission. Lawyers and non-lawyers on the commission are equally balanced, except that the chairman, an ex officio member, is a judge—hence a lawyer. After a judge is appointed, his name must be submitted to the electorate for "approval" or "rejection." Such submission is at the next general election, provided it comes at least one year after the date of appointment. The plan applies compulsorily only to the supreme and appellate courts and to trial courts in St. Louis and Jackson counties. In other counties, the plan is optional. Six judges have been selected under the plan, and the voters have approved five and rejected one. The plan is called "non-partisan" in

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the constitution, but in operation all of the appointees have been of the same party as the governor making the appointment.—P. S. SIKES.

In *Local Government; A Comparative Study* (Baltimore: Legislative Council of Maryland. Research Report No. 23. 1944. Pp. 66, proc.), Carl N. Everstine considers the peculiar problems of local legislation by the Maryland General Assembly, reviews the constitutional restrictions in all states respecting local legislation, indicates the statutory powers of counties in six other states, and presents proposals for expanding the powers of Maryland counties and for substituting general for local laws. Of all the state constitutions, Maryland's apparently places the least restriction upon local and special legislation; and almost two-thirds of the bills passed during recent regular sessions of the legislature concerned only individual counties or municipalities. In the 1943 session, there were 76 acts respecting particular municipal charters alone. Maryland appears to be the only state having a published code of public local laws; and many of the local codes of the 23 counties and 140 municipalities have various provisions regarding such matters as tax administration, conduct of elections, and court practice. In addition to many specific evils that have generally been associated with local legislation, such a system places excessive burdens on the time and energies of legislators who might better attend to more important business. Proposals to reduce this pressure involve a constitutional amendment to prohibit local, but not general, legislation by the General Assembly on 26 enumerated subjects. With respect to 23 of these topics, statutory grants of power to counties would expand the area of local self-government, while three items would be covered by state general laws. Only one or two minor proposals deal with municipalities, and no mention is made of the possibilities of expanding state administrative supervision of some local activities. Competently done within the limits indicated, the study might have been more revealingly titled and better processed.—FRED A. CLARENBACH.

It has been assumed that the principle of separation of powers in American government was derived from colonial experience and justified by Montesquieu's theory of balancing power to prevent tyranny. Now Ellen E. Brennen demonstrates in her purposeful study of *Plural Office-Holding in Massachusetts, 1760–1780* (University of North Carolina Press, 1945, pp. xiii, 227, $3.00) that the obnoxious custom of prominent officials occupying several important offices at the same time was the primary cause of the separation of legislative, executive, and judicial departments in the first state government of Massachusetts. After mentioning some of the prevalent assumptions concerning the origin of the separation-of-powers idea, she proceeds to expound her thesis by means of logical con-

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clusions from historical evidence, that the separation of personnel in the three branches was designed to prevent executive supremacy. From this interesting, well-written, and fully documented history of two decades, it appears that the arguments against oligarchy were based upon English common law and colonial experience, not upon abstract concepts of balanced power. Functions were shared, but offices were separated so that a government of laws instead of men might prevail. The book is a valuable contribution to American political theory.—JOHN E. BRIGGS.

In this period of labor unrest, the study, *Guaranteed Annual Wages* (University of Minnesota Press, 1945, pp. vii, 146, $2.50), by Jack Chernick and George C. Hellickson, is timely. It is an analysis of the theories, advantages, and difficulties of guaranteed annual wage schemes in general, with considerable attention given to three such plans in particular. These are operated by the Hormel (meat-packing) Company, the Nunn-Bush (shoe) Company, and the Procter and Gamble (soap) Company. Difficulties in the way of guaranteed annual wages are acknowledged, but the study definitely is favorable to such. Human beings ought to be free from worry about such essentials as food, clothing, and shelter; and yet labor receives less consideration than other factors of production. Commitments for raw materials must be made some time in advance, and machinery involves a commitment stretching over the entire life of the machine, but labor is hired and fired as conditions of the moment dictate. Permanency of employment, the authors remind us, is not a new idea. When manufacturing industries first developed in this country, the majority of production employees were on an annual wage basis. It is only since the Civil War that the mass of production workers have been employed on a day to day basis. Obstacles in the way of returning to the annual wage arrangement can, it is contended, be removed or circumvented with typical American ingenuity. Skilled labor sometimes objects to a reduction of the daily wage, even if it means more money for the year. Business may seek to keep hiring at the very minimum. Investors may become unduly cautious because of limited profits. Benefits to society, however, outweigh all such difficulties. This study is well worth reading. It presents the theory of the guaranteed annual wage clearly. Perhaps the difficulties of its practice need fuller attention.—CHRISTIAN L. LARSEN.

In *Shall We Scrap Our Merchant Marine?* (Robert M. McBride and Co., pp. 397, $3.00), A. D. Rathbone IV has produced a timely and appropriate piece of work. Time is at hand when public policy should be taking shape on the problem of what to do with our merchant fleet of more than 50,000,000 dead-weight tons. World War I cost us more than $3,000,000,000 for a merchant fleet, but due to the naval and merchant

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fleet programs of the 1920's and the rather anaemic acts of 1920 and 1928, results were *nil*. Our merchant marine, invigorated by the act of 1936 and subsequent amendments, "saved democracy." As for postwar planning for the merchant fleet, the author finds recommendations of the Maritime Commission acceptable and urges public support for them. This would include maintenance of a fleet of 17,300,000 tons, of which 7,500,000 would be devoted to foreign trade and the remainder to lake, river, and coastal trade. Data and arguments are introduced to show such tonnage to be warranted and desirable because of our position of increased importance in maintaining peace and in consideration of our volume of foreign trade and its relation to our internal economy; it is economically sound. The work will prove useful to the general reader. A bibliography is included.—H. C. Cook.

Although all the addresses in *Woodrow Wilson: Selections for Today* (Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1945, pp. x, 258, $2.75), edited by Arthur Bernon Tourtellot, are to be found in the last four volumes of *The Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, edited by Baker and Dodd, Mr. Tourtellot's selections will be welcomed by anyone who cannot or does not wish to avail himself of the larger collection. Forty-five of Mr. Wilson's most eloquent addresses, some of which are reproduced in full, are arranged under three topics: "The American Heritage," "The American Spirit," and "America's Place in the World." Each selection is prefaced with brief editorial comment; an appendix contains the first draft of the Covenant of the League of Nations; and there is a short annotated bibliography. It is doubtful whether the eulogistic comments of the editor add greatly to the attractiveness of the book, but the discerning choice and arrangement of materials are to be commended. One error, of little importance, is noted: the address at the re-dedication of Congress Hall, Philadelphia, was delivered on October 25, 1913, not October 11, 1915.—J. S. G. Carson.

FOREIGN AND COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENT

The history of local politics in London and its relation to the national government under the leadership of Robert Walpole, 1721 to 1742, is faithfully and authoritatively, if at times laboriously, traced by Alfred James Henderson in his *London and the National Government, 1721–1742* (Duke University Press, 1945, pp. 242). The chief interest of the political scientist is enlisted by those portions of the narrative which describe, first, the organization and functions of the City of London; second, the conflict within the city between the Whig followers of Walpole and the Tory opponents; third (and most important), the devices and procedures used by party leaders to create and direct public opinion in order to influence Parliament and to win local and parliamentary elections. How modern

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seem many of the devices. For example, discretionary powers vested in His Majesty to meet a health emergency were declared to be "dangerous to the *liberties of the people*." An excise tax proposed by Walpole for relief of the "Landed Gentlemen" was riotously attacked not only as destroying the liberties of the English people, but as creating an official bureaucracy "contrary to the principles of liberty upon which our happy Constitution is founded" (p. 144). Corruption in local elections appeared the order of the day when "Barrels of beer were given away amongst the mob" (p. 172). The interest of the reader is smothered at times by the long lists of candidates and election statistics. An all-too-short summary (three pages) recalls what in the book is most worth remembering. The historical value of the study is enhanced by the voluminous footnotes and an excellent bibliography listing unpublished manuscripts, current periodicals, and pamphlets.—ORREN C. HORMELL.

Lord Hankey's *Government Control in War* (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan, 1945, pp. 89, $1.50) is as important as it is brief. It deals, not with the controls exercised *by* government, but with top controls *over* government. These controls, as they existed up to the outbreak of the recent war, may be said to have grown up along with Hankey; for he was in the secretariat of the British Committee of Imperial Defense from 1908 to 1938, and he was the first person ever to be secretary of a cabinet. His Lees Knowles lectures contain no sensational revelations; but they pull together a large number of already published facts; and they provide an authoritative and indispensable interpretation of a vital aspect of contemporary British constitutional history. As might perhaps be expected in the work of an ex-marine, military preparedness is extolled as the quintessence of political wisdom; the influence of war on the evolution of British government is clearly demonstrated; and there is no suggestion that similar top controls might be equally well used to serve the purposes of peace. Lack of literary charm and of philosophic insight do not in any way detract from the significance of this little work.—W. H. WICKWAR.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Sir William Beveridge attacked the problem of personal insecurity in his now famous report on social insurance, and the question of jobs for all in a later book, *Full Employment in a Free Society*. In *The Price of Peace* (W. W. Norton and Co., 1945, pp. 160, $2.00), he now turns to what he considers the third most important and most difficult task confronting us in the postwar period—setting out the terms on which we may achieve freedom from war and from fear of war. His brief study is both a masterful and a realistic analysis of the various alternatives so often suggested

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for attaining a rule of law in world affairs. Although Sir William wrote before the United Nations Conference at San Francisco, he nevertheless had at hand the Dumbarton Oaks proposals for the United Nations Organization, and these, along with proposals for federal union and a world state, are the subject of cogent criticism by the author. While insisting on the supreme necessity of continued unity among Britain, Russia, and the United States, he recognizes also the differences which may divide these powers. He has argued, therefore, against the possibility of erecting any institutional world framework more elaborate than commissions for the arbitrament of disputes with respect to certain specified issues that are likely to arise over boundaries, colonies, economic relations, and minorities. But such arbitration must be compulsory for all. Logically, Sir William points out, this plan will exclude the recourse to national arms, and calls for the institution of some form of international police force. Failing the possibility of achieving Big Three submission to compulsory arbitration on all such disputes, Sir William is then prepared to accept much of Walter Lippmann's thesis, outlined in the latter's recent works, *U. S. War Aims* and *U. S. Foreign Policy*. If the Big Three do not agree to a system of compulsory arbitration, then it would be incumbent indeed, Sir William believes, upon Britain and America to erect and defend the rule of law within what Mr. Lippmann has called the Atlantic Community. In *The Price of Peace*, no direct reference is made to the possibility of the development and use of atomic energy. The news of August 6 that Hiroshima had been leveled by an atomic bomb came, of course, after the author's present summation. Doubtless he would consider it but the final reason, if others were needed, why it is now imperative that every state, large or small, submit all disputes to international arbitration. He points out in a striking manner that modern totalitarian war, differing essentially in kind from wars in the nineteenth century or before, involves such drastic consequences as to be entirely outmoded as a method of settling disputes between nations. Perhaps the potential use of atomic power in warfare would now cause him to revise his conclusions about the feasibility of creating a more elaborate world authority. At least the author's reliance, under certain circumstances, on the Atlantic Community scheme now appears less sound than before August 6. For continued war is wholly unthinkable, and the author would probably be prepared to invest the newly formed United Nations Organization with the super-national authority he has indicated as necessary to bring freedom from war and the fear of war.—GRANT S. MCCLELLAN.

The essence of the Jewish problem is homelessness, and the solution is to be found only in the transformation of Palestine into a Jewish national state. This is the core of the plea which Ernst Frankenstein, practicing

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international lawyer, makes in *Justice for My People* (Dial Press, 1945, pp. 208, $2.50). Recognition is given to the fact that not all Jews favor Zionism or would desire to migrate to Palestine, and Frankenstein urges that the rights of these dispersed individuals be protected under national and international law. But after briefly sketching Jewish history through four thousand years, he argues from past experience that the psychological and economic barriers which made assimilation of the Jewish minority within existing national communities difficult will continue to exist for all Jews who refuse to renounce their religion. His book constitutes a valuable addition to the material on Palestine because of its scholarly examination of the legal aspects of Jewish and Arab claims, and of certain phases of the British position as the mandatory power. The British are accused of lack of good faith with respect to the pledge contained in the Balfour Declaration, coolness to Jewish aspirations, and illegal whittling down of Jewish rights contained in the mandate. Interesting material is presented to refute the political and moral bases of Arab claims to Palestine, and Frankenstein supports the moral aspects of Jewish claims by reference to the principle of the minor suffering. However, without seriously detracting from his fundamental logic presented in support of Zionism, Frankenstein has weakened some of his arguments by occasional assertions which are not supported with sufficient evidence. Many will dispute his contention that assimilation without eventual loss of Jewish identity is impossible in the future in all lands where the Jews are a minority. There is no discussion of the problems and dangers which might confront a small and relatively weak state—as a Jewish Palestine would necessarily be. Finally, the strategic and economic interests of Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States, which bear such a direct relationship today to the fulfillment of Jewish aspirations in Palestine, are intentionally ignored. —ALFRED FERNBACH.

"The Chinese believe that all things under Heaven work together for good. An evil comes, but will not long stay" These words are the keynote of the little volume, *China; After Seven Years of War* (Macmillan Co., pp. 246, $2.00), edited by the late Hollington K. Tong. A group of writers have contributed short articles on many aspects of Chinese life under wartime conditions. The most striking characteristic of the series is the insight it gives into the indomitable courage of the Chinese in facing disaster and danger. In their struggle against the destructive invader, the urge for life has kept even the most sorely tried citizen from giving up. The reader cannot help feeling unstinted admiration for these patient folk. The volume stresses the increasingly closer coöperation between China and the United States through the medium of their respective armed forces, and tells of the barbaric punishment of the villagers who put their

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humanity above their fear of reprisals from the Japanese soldiery. The work is marred to a slight degree by an often obvious attempt at journalistic pathos which is out of place. The straight story is dramatic enough without attempts at embellishment. The description of guerilla activities is told simply, and is the more powerful for having left the reader with impressions that were implied and not stated. As an analysis of how China has responded to her years of trial, the study is to be commended.—ANDREW E. NUQUIST.

Our Muddled World, edited by Ernest Minor Patterson, is the apt title for the July, 1945, issue of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (Vol. 240, pp. ix, 200, $2.00). The eighteen articles, which are reprints of addresses made before the 1945 meeting of the Academy, center around the difficulties of establishing a peaceful, prosperous, and democratic world. In content, they range from discussions of Anglo-American relations, labor unions in Latin America, and the rôle of small nations to studies of international agencies. In character, they range from such scholarly analyses as Staley's "The Economic Side of Stable Peace" or Newcomer's "Bretton Woods and Durable Peace" to pleasant speeches like that of Wright on "British Foreign Policy in Europe" or of Watt on "Labor Problems." Many of the articles are informative and scholarly; most have a decided economic slant. That some were written in the days of Dumbarton Oaks does not detract significantly from them. There is little about the reorganization of Germany and Japan or about social problems *per se*, for these subjects lie outside the scope of the volume. The collection as a whole presents many points of view and many useful data, some of which are not well known, concerning the Middle East Supply Center, the American propaganda school in Ecuador, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the international program of the Latin American Confederation of Labor, the Bretton Woods agreements, and many other subjects. The two articles on Palestine stand in contrast. One is an argumentative, biased brief; the other is a sane, balanced analysis, whose calm reasonableness by contrast generates a dislike for briefs.—GARLAND DOWNUM.

American membership in the Security Council of the United Nations Organization raises several questions new to American experience. Among these is that of how our government is geared to deal with the task of preserving peace between foreign powers. The subject is dealt with in James Grafton Rogers' *World Policing and the Constitution* (World Peace Foundation, 1945, pp. 123, cloth $0.50, paper, $0.25), which is the eleventh pamphlet in a series entitled "America Looks Ahead," devoted to brief and authoritative comments on foreign affairs. The plan of treatment is elaborate. The first chapter takes up the query, Where did the framers

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of the Constitution place the control over foreign relations? The second chapter reviews the opinions of judges and commentators. The third analyzes the Congressional war power, and the fourth, the power of the President to use the armed forces. There is a fifth chapter of conclusions. The first two chapters are not up to the high level reached by the rest of the pamphlet. The treatment of the Constitution is discursive and too much given to picturesque analogy. The inquiry would be set forward if discussion were sharply confined to the appointing power, the treaty-making power, and the position of the President as commander-in-chief. The chapter on the commentators suffers because the subject is too complicated and the sources too numerous to admit of a telling condensation. The story is given eight pages as contrasted with twenty-four for the intentions of the framers of the Constitution. The rest of the pamphlet is a brilliant example of concise analysis, and is a mine of shrewd and significant comment. The scope of the inquiry inevitably reduces itself to the question of the extent of the Chief Executive's control over the Army and Navy.—PERCY THOMAS FENN, JR.

The Exploitation of Foreign Labour by Germany (International Labour Office, 1945, pp. 286, boards $2.00, paper $1.50), by John H. E. Fried, is the first comprehensive scholarly treatment to appear on what may well prove the most important social problem to arise out of the war. In his preface the author apologizes for the incompleteness of the report, due to wartime difficulties of obtaining information. The apology is gratuitous. Obviously the difficulties did exist, but nevertheless the report comprises a mass of data that is at once illuminating and convincing. It would be wrong to say that this document makes either easy or pleasant reading. There is perhaps too much attention to minutiae for the first, and the very nature of the subject-matter precludes the latter. By very conservative estimate, a minimum of ten million foreign workers were employed in the German war effort. If dependent family members are included, this means that thirty to thirty-five million persons were directly affected by this phase of the war alone. The report covers, among other things, such matters as the sources of recruitment of these workers; the various contractual arrangements under which they worked; their distribution; their wages; living conditions, and conditions of work; provision for dependents; and status under the social insurance system. Despite its complete objectivity and admirable restraint, the report leaves no doubt that the condition of the workers was essentially that of slaves and that the lot of workers from the west of Europe was enviable only by comparison with that of workers from Poland or the Soviet Union.—HILDEN GIBSON.

In *Consular Relations between the United States and the Papal States; Instructions and Despatches. American Catholic Historical Association,*

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Documents: Vol. II (American Historical Association, pp. xxxix, 467), edited by Leo Francis Stock, we have another volume of official correspondence covering relations between the United States and the Papal States. The first volume, published in 1933, dealt with instructions and despatches to and from the American ministers at Rome in the period 1848–68. The present volume covers correspondence between the State Department and the American consuls at Rome and other cities in the Papal States. The period covered is 1829 to 1870. Interesting accounts of the activities of our consuls are given. Nicholas Brown, in 1849, sent his "warmest congratulations" to the Roman Government and was enthusiastic in his praise of its accomplishments and in his recommendations for its recognition by the United States. Later, Edwin C. Cushman, consul in 1868, went out with the Papal army as an observer and ended by obtaining a gun and firing at Garibaldians. In the encounter he was wounded, and subsequently he was reprimanded by the State Department. A very good account of conditions in Rome at the time of the Italian capture of the city in 1870 is given by Consul David M. Armstrong.—ROBERT S. MCCORDOCK.

POLITICAL THEORY AND MISCELLANEOUS

It is doubtful whether any competent biographer could fail to write a reasonably interesting life of Voltaire, but Adolph Meyer has written a fascinating one. Not only does *Voltaire, Man of Justice* (Howell, Soskin, 1945, pp. 386, $3.50) offer a picture of the amazingly many-sided Voltaire, but it provides an excellent vignette of a century almost as incredible as the individual who is its central figure. Even during his lifetime, Voltaire was regarded as the living personification of the Enlightenment. "I meant to render you the homage that we all owe to you, as the Chief," wrote Rousseau. Yet, amazingly, most of the works for which Voltaire is best remembered today were not written until he was past the age of sixty. During the early part of his career, save for the promise implicit in the *English Letters* and in the *History of Charles XII*, Voltaire was less the Laski than the Noel Coward of his day. Indeed, through most of his life Voltaire thought of himself primarily as poet and playwright rather than as social critic and philosopher. It was only after the Versailles and Cirey and Potsdam episodes were over, and Voltaire had settled at Ferney that he began the career of relentless revolutionary pamphleteering which gained the stature by which we know him. Voltaire was an aristocrat by temperament, and the mystical egalitarianism of Rousseau was to him both repulsive and stupidly unrealistic. But he was nevertheless a great humanitarian. "Two words," says Meyer, "summarize Voltaire's doctrines: freedom and justice." And the basis of these was tolerance. To the student of the history of politics and of political thought, the most in-

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triguing sections of this book may well be those which deal with Voltaire's relationship to Frederick the Great and to Rousseau. In regard to the former, it is only fair to remark that there was at least one side to Frederick which Meyer does not show us here—that, for instance, depicted by Bruno Frank in *The Days of the King*. And apropos of Meyer's treatment of Voltaire and Rousseau, one can only say that it is tantalizingly brief, and one could wish that the author would develop it further.—HILDEN GIBSON.

To the stream of books upon postwar themes, Louis Marlio has contributed a volume entitled *Can Democracy Recover?* (Doubleday, Doran and Co., 1945, pp. 190, $2.00.) The author is a Frenchman, of varied experience in business, affairs, and letters, who latterly has collaborated with the staff of Brookings Institution. Originally, this volume was published in French in 1943; and the only substantial change made in this 1945 English edition is the addition of a section to Chapter XIII, outlining a schedule for the general organization of peace. The two-fold objectives of the book, as indicated by the author, are (1) diagnosis of the current world crisis, and (2) search for efficacious remedies for those mundane morbidities. Brevity reduces the detail of the diagnosis and shortens the specification of prescriptions. Compression in space and condensation of content imparts the semblance of haste, albeit undeservedly, for here is the skeletal framework for a good book of ampler proportions and surer execution. Marlio writes, therefore, in a seemingly turgid and turbulent fashion, as one who is desperately in earnest, yet withal confused and somewhat unsure. Generalizations stand out nakedly, bereft in numerous instances of the allure of stylistic cosmetic and the warmth of logical clothing. Vistas with entrancing possibilities, i.e., his concept of Stalinized Bolshevism, and the rôle of the social guild—are opened wide for exploration, and then pinched off by the spatial conception of the book, e'er vision has established perspective adequate to judgment. Hence, the book is difficult to appraise; as it stands, there is just enough of it to make the reviewer desire more.—CHARLES W. SHULL.

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RECENT PUBLICATIONS OF POLITICAL INTEREST

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MULFORD Q. SIBLEY
AND
MARJORIE H. SIBLEY
University of Illinois

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1. Separate *Orders of the Day*, since these were also published in the daily *Journal.*
2. Daily and cumulative *Lists of Documents Issued*, with the exception of the two final lists . . . since these are repetitive.

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5. Papers of the Coördination Committee which have not been released for publication.
6. Documents in other than the working languages, with a few exceptions.

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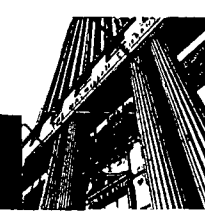

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